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Warsaw Pact Summit To Determine Pact Future

LD0606215890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Excerpts] The Hungarian delegation that is taking part in the Warsaw Pact summit that begins tomorrow [7 June], has arrived in Moscow. [passage omitted] It will depend on the difficult expert negotiations which follow tonight whether this Warsaw Pact summit meeting will carry out a radical transformation of the organization, or whether those who progress with deliberation will assert their will. PRAVDA wrote today that the Warsaw Pact will survive, and it will exercise a balancing, stabilizing impact on the development of Europe. This obviously is the opinion not only of the paper's editor but is an official Soviet standpoint. This determines the kind of statement which Moscow is ready to sign after tomorrow's meeting.

After its arrival, the Hungarian delegation continued work here in Moscow on making its own position more precise, and shaping a final version. This topic was discussed at the short meetings this evening between Arpad Gonoz, interim head of state, and CSFR president Vaclav Havel, as well as between Jozsef Antall and Lothar de Maiziere. At this meeting, which took place in the Hungarian Embassy, the two heads of state continued their discussion begun two weeks ago on how, after German unification, the customarily dynamic and high-volume economic relations between Hungary and the GDR can be maintained.

Regarding the future of the Warsaw Pact, the Hungarian Government would like to achieve, in Moscow, now, according to the terms of radical transformation and reorganization, a considerable decrease in the organization's military role and an increase in its political role. At the same time, a Europe without a Warsaw Pact should come about within the foreseeable future, of course, in parallel with the development of a collective European security system.

However, not until the night is over will it be decided definitively which of the other member states agree to what extent with this endeavor. However, statements which have been voiced earlier allow us to conclude that there is no agreement between the member states regarding the concrete forms of radical transformation.

By the way, the summit meeting will begin tomorrow with a report by Gorbachev. Then the delegation leaders one after the other will state their views on the future of the organization, on the German question, and on the relations the East European countries have with one another. After Gorbachev, Jozsef Antall will be the first speaker.

The external trappings of the welcome shown to the delegation did not diverge at all from when the Communist Party general secretaries came to such summits. However, the reporter noticed at the airport that the Hungarian guests and Aleksandr Yakovlev, who received them, measured one another up curiously, and the main protagonists obviously were aware that this current, first handshake really meant the beginning of a new era.

Delegations Depart for Moscow Pact Summit

Czechoslovak Delegation

LD0606131190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1300 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] The Czechoslovak state delegation led by the President Vaclav Havel departed by plane for Moscow today [6 June] for the session of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact member states. Its other members are: Federal Premier Marian Calfa, National Defense Minister Army General Miroslav Vacek, Presidential advisors Jiri Krizan and Sasha Vondra, and other representatives.

Jaruzelski, Mazowiecki Depart for Summit

LD0606131890 Warsaw PAP in English 1252 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 6—President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki this afternoon went to Moscow where they will take part in the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Advisory Committee. The Polish delegation also includes foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Defence Minister Florian Siwicki and Polish Ambassador to the Soviet Union Stanislaw Ciosek.

Hungarian Delegation Departs for Summit

LD0606144990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] The Hungarian state delegation led by interim head of state Arpad Goncz has left for Moscow for the session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. Members of the delegation are Premier Joszef Antall, Defense Minister Lajos Fur, and State Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Ministry Ferenc Somogyi.

Iliescu, Roman, Stanculescu Depart

AU0606152590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1451 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 6/6/1990—A delegation led by Mr. Ion Iliescu, Romania's president elect, left for Moscow today to attend the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty participating states to be held on 7 June 1990.

The delegation includes Prime Minister Petre Roman, Victor Stanculescu, minister of national defence, Romulus Neagu, deputy minister of foreign affairs, other officials.

Mladenov Heads Bulgarian Delegation

AU0606183990 Sofia BTA in English 1806 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, June 6 (BTA)—A Bulgarian delegation headed by President Petur Mladenov left for Moscow tonight [6 June]. It will attend the regular session of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee.

Further Reportage on Warsaw Pact Summit

WA0706121890

For further reportage on the Warsaw Pact summit meeting in Moscow, which opens 7 June, including Soviet reportage on the proceedings, please see the COMMUNIST RELATIONS section of the 7 June Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Hoxha Endorses Democratization, 'Democratic Rights'

AU0606122590 Tirana ATA in English 0914 GMT 6 Jun 90

["Excerpts" of speech by Nexhmije Hoxha, chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, at a meeting of the General Council in Tirana on 5 June]

[Text] Tirana, June 5 (ATA)—The 9th and 10th plenums of the party Central Committee and Comrade Ramiz Alia's speeches are major historic events of extraordinary importance for the destinies of the homeland for the present and the future, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha said among others.

Our entire people joyfully supported and approved the ideas and decisions for the further democratisation of the country's life. It was another manifestation of the major political unity and spiritual cohesion of the people created and forged by the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

At present, there is no other more important duty for the Democratic Front of Albania, which united the broad masses of the people, than the struggle to enhance the role of the broad masses of the people in all walks of social activity, to carry forward the process of democratization with the deep conviction that only in this way the freedom and independence of the homeland are guaranteed, and our victories safeguarded and developed.

The decisions of the 9th and 10th plenums of the Central Committee and the laws endorsed by the People's Assembly on the improvement of the economic mechanism and legislation are permeated by the great idea of broadening and deepening socialist democracy. Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha said, the process of the democratization is dictated by no one. It is an objective imperative for the constant and all-sided progress of the homeland. It stems from the new level and requirements of society itself, from the need to avoid negative phenomena, first of all the bureaucratic ones, and from the lessons drawn from world developments.

It devolves on the Democratic Front to engage in a broad activity to explain to the masses great new values of the democratic process which is taking place in the life of our society, such as the broadening of democratic rights of the working people, the impulse given to their interest in work and production so that they make an active contribution to the building of the state policy in various fields, and have competences to adopt decisions and defend civil rights. This broad democratic road is a great school of education and training for the urban and rural masses of the people to perform their role for building and running the society to the best of their abilities.

In the spirit of the 9th and 10th plenums, the people are being informed more and more of the great political, economic and social problems of the country, getting in touch and consulting with leading cadres at various levels. The people air their views, ask for clarifications, enter into open and free debate on all questions which have an interest for the people, the party and the state.

In these debates, people realize that lack of unanimity is not essential if unity is preserved. This kind of unity results stronger, because it is based on the legitimate right of every one to have his say and defend his views, always for the sake of progress and in the service of society.

The fact that the masses are invited and urged not only to have their say, but to have the power to make decisions, testifies to the great political trust the party has in them. With this trust, they are invited to the open party meetings, with the right of demanding explanations and discussing on an equal footing with the communists. It is not without a purpose that non-party people are elected to leading posts and organs, institutions and mass organisations and occupy a greater number of important functions than the party members.

The decisions of the recent plenums, which we are so very important for enhancing the role of the masses in the life of the whole country, are just as valuable for the Democratic Front, their great organization. They constitute great aid not only to the platform but also to the practice of its work.

We in the Front must know how to set this great political capital in motion with the highest advantage, in the interest of society and with a view to the new tasks the time lays down for us.

Of major importance for the Democratic Front is the strengthening and democratization of the state power which expresses and materializes the will of the broad masses of the people. The people are interested to have their state power as strong, and dynamic as possible and least exposed to the bureaucratic phenomena, they want it to be as close to them as possible and as just as possible.

The decisions adopted by the 10th plenum of the Central Committee and the laws passed by the People's Assembly ensure the improvement of our legislation. The creation of the Ministry of Justice, advocacy, the rehabilitation institution, the amendments to the provisions of the Penal Code concerning sentences for political agitation and propaganda, religious propaganda, the more accurate definition of the substance of some crimes, as well as the draft-law adopted by the Government recently on the right of giving the citizens passports for travelling abroad, etc., better harmonise the interests of the state and society with those of the individual and human rights are better defended.

The care for man, his life and all-round rights constitutes the essence of socialism. Therefore the aim of the state and its laws has been and is to create ever better conditions for the working man. This has been done in proportion to the growth of the national economy and culture and the internal and international circumstances.

Everything is done according to a set order. In the early years after liberation, when the people could not have enough bread, when malaria and other epidemic diseases took them in the prime of their youth, when most people were illiterate, it was fundamental to resolve these problems, to ensure work, bread, schooling and medical service free of charge for the people, safeguard our independence, national sovereignty and people's power. Our state devoted its care to these economic, political and social rights. These constitute major historic victories of our working people, and created the conditions for guaranteeing human rights in other fields, too.

The changes we are actually making should be viewed from this dialectical standpoint. These changes and reorganisations, improvements and corrections in the economy and legislation, in the enhancement of the role of the masses, the further emancipation of our man and of the society as a whole, are requirements of the time. They respond to the current economic and social level of the country, to the higher educational and cultural level of the people and express the strength of the socialist order and its democratic and human character.

After speaking of the broad extension of democracy in the field of production and economic relations, linked with the decisions on economic mechanism, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha pointed to some of the tasks of the Democratic Front. She said among the other things:

The activity of the social courts created in the city quarters and villages is also linked with the work of our Front organizations. Herein stem the needs of close cooperation for the matters they treat of. Speaking of the explanation and application of the new legislation, she said that it does not mean at all that we give up the struggle against criminality or atheistic propaganda. The right to believe or not is a matter of conscience for everybody.

The process of democratisation requires a new examination of our whole work with the people, a reexamination both of its form and content. It should aim at bringing us closer to the people and to their opinions, sentiments, troubles and demands. Democratic education requires, first of all that you know how to listen to and tolerate the other's opinion, to unhesitatingly state your opinion. On its basis lies mutual human respect, without discrimination and prejudice.

The Democratic Front should militate to carry forward the country's democratic process, in order to put man, the broad masses of the people in the centre of this process. An important place in the work of the Front should occupy the major problems having to do with the socioeconomic development, the consolidation of the freedom and independence of the homeland, with the consolidation and safeguard of the socialist victories, with the enhancement of the patriotic spirit of the masses and in particular of our younger generation. The Front should accomplish this mission in close cooperation with the other social organisations, the trade unions, youth, women, veterans, with various associations and social- cultural institutions of the country. Likewise, in the ranks of intelligentsia we should awake and collect the extraordinary creative potentials hidden in it, which are among the most precious treasures of the nation created with investments and major sacrifices by the working people.

Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha said: The analysis made at the 9th and 10th plenums of the party Central Committee and in Comrade Ramiz Alia's speeches about the present developments of the situations in the world and the stands of our country are of vital importance for the freedom, independence and national sovereignty.

Europe cannot know Albania's present and past, the ancient origin and culture of our people sufficiently well, the young journalists may be pardoned for writing nonsense regarding our reality, but the European chancelleries know very well that when it came to defend the independence and sovereign rights, the Albanian people have always been united as a single unflinching body.

It is only natural that our people should pursue with interest the present international developments, the attempts to ease tension, the changes that are occurring in the world and in Europe, in particular towards which political and economic stands should be adopted as the time and the developments in the international relations demand.

The Democratic Front fully supports the steps our party and state are making in the situations created in the world and in Europe. The foreign policy of socialist Albania has always been open, realistic and independent. On the basis of this policy, in his speeches and at the meeting with the UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, Comrade Ramiz Alia presented our viewpoints and stands on the participation in the European Community of Security and Understanding, in the relations with the European Common Market, the reestablishment of diplomatic relations with the United States of America, the Soviet Union, etc. Our party and Government voice the will of all the Albanian people when they state that, in these steps and relations, Albania does not accept political, economic or other dictates and conditions, that it should be accepted as it is and as it itself wants to be. Socialist Albania has always had its own independent voice in the international arena and will retain this position in the future, too, in the European and international institutions.

The PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania follows a realistic policy when it says openly that our economic relations, trade exchanges, etc., with abroad cannot be realised without bearing in mind the existence of the European Community and Common Market. Albania has considered its links with abroad as something indispensable not only in the economic field, but also for the fact that they help to know each other, to profit reciprocally from the exchanges in culture and science, from the experience and all-sided achievements of mutual

interest. It is known that, if the big and powerful countries too, need cooperation and friendly exchanges of interest, for the small countries this need is much greater.

In the present time, when technology is advancing with giant strides, our country is particularly interested in all this, because it does not want to lag behind. The peoples have gained profound political consciousness and fight for their freedom and democratic rights. It is in this context that we consider the resolute fight and resistance of the Albanians of Kosovo to defend, or better to say, to ensure the most elementary democratic rights of which the Serbian chauvinists are depriving them one by one through violence and the strength of tanks. The Albanian people have followed the development of events in Kosovo with extreme anxiety, day and night. Through the organisations of the Front in all the corners of Albania, all the strata—workers, peasants, intellectuals, women, old, and young have expressed admiration for the bravery of their Kosovar brothers, for the maturity and coolheadedness they are showing in these turbulent and explosive situations. Through their determined struggle to win the national and democratic rights, the Albanians of Kosovo, united around the new wise and brave figures, are steeling their unity without distinction as to strata, age and religion. They are not making these sacrifices for nothing, they tore off themselves from those regressive, (?chauvinist) and anti- democratic forces, which are eroding Yugoslavia from within, and revealed the bitter reality of Kosovo for the world to see.

The Democratic Front unanimously supports the decisions of the 10th plenum of the Central Committee for our country to follow the general world tendencies for the lowering of tension. It demands that without interference in the home affairs of each country, a constructive and democratic dialogue should be started especially with neighbouring Yugoslavia and other Balkan countries, which is to the advantage of friendship, cooperation, peace and international security.

Through its stands, Albania shows to the world that it has a national vitality, a sound moral-political situation, an internal security and unity, confidence in and optimism for the future.

The Albanian people are sure and confident that the peoples of other countries, small or big, near to or far from us, will know how to understand and evaluate our stands correctly, we hope that they will know how to recognize the originality of the Albanian stand and voice among the joint voice of the peoples, better than they have done so far.

No-one other is better able than the Albanian people to decide about their political power and no one can impose himself on them to make them share it with the parties of those forces who kept them in oppression and darkness, or with artificial created parties, which represent nobody. No-one can tell them how to govern the country or the economy,what kind of market to have, what ideology to follow and on what patterns to construct their present or future.

National unity for the Albanian people, especially for as small as ours, is vital for their existence, just as the sun is vital for existence. For the Albanians, anything that divides us, that weakens our unity, is unacceptable.

In conclusion Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha said that today, more than ever, all the members of our great organization, the Democratic Front, without distinction of class, age, sex and education, should join their forces in the political front, in that of production, culture and science, and through work and vigilance steel the unity of the people around the Party of Labour and our beloved leader, Comrade Ramiz Alia.

U.S. State Department Declaration Criticized

AU0706084790 Sofia BTA in English 0826 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 7 Jun (BTA)—The declaration of the U.S. Department of State contains formulations of conditions and requirements which would sound as a gross intervention of the country's internal affairs even if the most diplomatic language is used, it is said in a signed commentary brought out by today's OTECHESTVEN FRONT. At the same time the author notes that the interest shown on the part of the American Administration in the assertion of democracy in Bulgaria through free and honest elections is understandable and acceptable. According to him many of the requirements set by the U.S. Department of State would have been entirely acceptable, had they been made in the form of recommendations or advice.

What the U.S. Department of State wants is part of the activity of the government branches and agencies carried out to create the most favourable conditions and the best atmosphere for absolutely free and secret voting on the part of the Bulgarian electorate, the author says.

Mladenov Appeals for Nonviolence on Election Day

AU0606183690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Report on "appeal" issued by President Petur Mladenov; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] In connection with the approaching elections and the political events scheduled to take place tomorrow [7 June] in Sofia, and organized by the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF], President Petur Mladenov made the following appeal to the Bulgarian people:

[Begin Mladenov recording] Dear compatriots, I address you at a historical moment. Now the entire world is looking at Bulgaria. It wants to see how the forthcoming free and democratic elections will take place. Despite all difficulties we experienced, we can be proud with the fact that we reached this moment without violence, as modern and patriotic people should do.

Our present stage, the period since 10 November 1989 can be described in single word— revolution. It is with this peaceful revolution that we are entering the future.

During the election campaign there emerged many quarrels and discussions. Many accusations and counteraccusations were issued. Now we must rise above the emotions, because Bulgaria must remain above everything else. Ten and 17 June are important dates. However, let us not forget that Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people will also continue to exist afterward.

Only three days remain until the elections. This is the most difficult period. Passions have been raised to the limit. Tomorrow rallies of the BSP and the UDF will take place in Sofia. Hundreds of thousands of people will participate in those rallies. This can increase even more the degree of tension in the country. Therefore, I appeal to all of you to preserve peace and security, display restraint and high political culture, and make your selection calmly and independently, in an atmosphere of security. The successful conduct of the elections is a prerequisite in solving our country's problems. Therefore, they really must be peaceful and democratic.

I appeal to the political parties to understand their exceptional responsibility, and compete in a tolerant and honest manner.

The government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Sofia People's Council, and all other state organs must regard the guaranteeing of law, peace, and security of every Bulgarian citizen as their primary task. They must guarantee the Bulgarian citizens the possibility to participate in really free elections.

Brothers and Sisters, without civic peace and peaceful transition to democracy our country has no future. Regardless of our personal passions, and through broad national consensus let us construct the destiny of our children and motherland! Let us enter the 21st century with our worth intact!

I believe that at this fateful moment our people will show their inherent wisdom, prudence, and patriotism. [end recording]

Council of Ministers Supports Mladenov Appeal

AU0606193090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Declaration issued by the Council of Ministers in Sofia; date not given]

[Text] In connection with the preelection situation in the country and the rallies scheduled to take place tomorrow, 7 June, in Sofia, organized by the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF], the Council of Ministers issues the following declaration:

The government fully supports the appeal of President Petur Mladenov to the Bulgarian people, which you just heard. The government thinks that at this important moment for the country, the political forces, the state organs, and the citizens must do everything within their power to strictly observe the laws and agreements reached at the roundtable, and maintain a calm atmosphere and civic discipline. The simultaneous holding of two mass political rallies in Sofia's center, on the eve of the elections for the Grand National Assembly, requires excellent organization, great political awareness, and responsibility.

The government and its organs are concerned about maintaining the citizens' tranquility, without tension and excessive passions, and without undesirable incidents, so that those major national political rallies can

take place in a normal atmosphere. The government requires the Sofia city People's Council, the Internal Affairs Ministry, the Transportation Ministry, and all other institutions engaged in protecting the order, to do everything possible to maintain exemplary order.

The Council of Ministers greeted with satisfaction the joint appeal of the chairmen of the preelection centers of the BSP and the UDF to maintain prudence and discipline during and after the rallies, and relies on the political parties to set a specific example in properly organizing the rallies, something for which they are directly responsible. The government appeals to Sofia citizens and the other participants in the rallies, and to the citizens throughout the country, to show during these days maximum awareness and respect for the law and public order, so that the major political rallies can turn into a worthy prelude to honest and peaceful elections for the Grand National Assembly, which have exceptional importance for the democratization and the international authority of our motherland—the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Election Commission on 'Invisible Ink' Rumor

AU0606191990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] The Central Election Commission adopted several decisions today [6 June]. Central Election Commission Secretary Dimitur Popov explains the decisions:

[Begin Popov recording] We have received many queries from citizens, party organizations, political figures, and various institutions about the validity of a ballot which has been cast in a certain polling station, if the name of the candidate on the ballot is different from the name that appears on the list of candidates, however, his political affiliation is the same. The Central Election Commission decided that such a ballot will be considered as valid and it will be considered as a vote cast for the candidate listed by the party for which the voter has voted in his constituency. Thus, any attempt to switch ballots from one constituency to another is doomed to fail.

A certain alarming rumor has been consistently disseminated in the country—namely, that various persons or unregistered political forces have imported invisible ink for pens. According to the rumor, the purpose is to erase the names of political opponents on the ballot. Such writing remains invisible for several hours. After the ballots have been placed in the voting envelopes, the election day has ended, and the counting has begun, the invisible ink will then appear and invalidate the ballot. Thus, the political opponents will be damaged.

Taking this into account and on the basis of the law the Central Election Commission adopted the following decision: Ballots marked by invisible ink will be considered valid. This decision of the Central Election Commission renders worthless such criminal attempts and acts aimed at damaging the political opponent. [end recording]

Turkish Minority To Back Opposition in Elections

AU0606160690 Paris AFP in English 1519 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Jun (AFP)—Bulgaria's Turkish minority party, the Movement for Rights and Liberties (DPS), will back the country's opposition groups in Sunday's general election, DPS leader Ahmed Dogan said here Wednesday [6 June].

Speaking at a press conference, Mr. Dogan, 36, said the DPS will call to vote for the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), a grouping of 16 parties, in constituencies where no DPS candidate has been nominated.

The move was seen as a plea to Bulgaria's ethnic Turks not to vote for the reformed Socialist Party, the former communist party.

According to Mr. Dogan, Turks make up 1.5 million of Bulgaria's total population of nine million people.

In the June 17 runoff between UDF and other candidates the DPS will support the opposition grouping, Mr. Dogan added.

The DPS declares a membership of 140,000. It has put up 154 candidates including 15 ethnic Bulgarians for the 400-seat constitutive assembly.

Mr. Dogan accused the Socialist Party of being the "only responsible" for the forced assimilation of ethnic Turks.

"Mistakes were not made by one single person but by the entire party", Mr. Dogan said, referring to hardline leader Todor Zhivkov, ousted in November last year.

Mr. Dogan also told the press that he held a letter by Milko Balev, a close aide to Mr. Zhivkov, accusing President Petar Mladenov of being personally involved in the old regime's decision to force ethnic Turks to give up Turkish-sounding names.

Turkish Party 'Balancing Centrist Factor'

AU0606183390 Sofia BTA in English 1734 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Jun (BTA)—At a news conference held here today with Bulgarian and foreign journalists the leader of the Rights and Freedoms Movement, Mr. Akhmed Dogan, said that the movement is a "balancing centrist factor."

According to Akhmed Dogan the membership of the Rights and Freedoms Movement (RFM) is 140,000 people. He said that the RFM is an "ethnic factor integrating a million and a half Bulgarian Turks."

The RFM is the fourth, maybe even the third, most influential political force in the country, its leader said.

There are also Bulgarians, Armenians, Jews and gypsies among the members of the RFM, Akhmed Dogan

announced. He said that 15 of the 154 RFM candidates who will run in the forthcoming elections are Bulgarians.

Dogan accused the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] of "having pursued for decades a criminal assimilation policy with regard to the ethnic minorities in the country" and called upon "the successor of the BCP the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) to assume the whole political responsibility for it." He rejected any possibility of the RFM forming a coalition or conducting any other kind of cooperation with the BSP "for tactical considerations as well as for considerations of principle."

According to Akhmed Dogan foreign political factors had also had their impact on the preparation and the carrying out of the so-called "revival process," the forcible change of the Bulgarian Muslims' names after 1984. He spoke about the influence of then "Bulgaria-Greece-USSR triad" in the process. Dogan stated that he would revert to this question when the RFM would be in possession of more evidence proving it.

Akhmed Dogan stated that Petur Beron, one of the leaders of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF], had presented to the Presidency of Bulgaria a proposal in which it is insisted that the RFM should be banned. This is an unlawful act, Akhmed Dogan said, pointing out that the RFM is not founded on an "entirely ethnic basis."

The leader of the RFM accused the SDS of "following an improvident policy aimed at discrediting the Rights and Freedoms Movement and its leader." He refuted the charges of some SDS leaders who see the movement as a "militarized organization," but he pointed out that the RFM is the successor of the "underground resistance organization of the Turks in Bulgaria" founded by Akhmed Dogan and his followers in 1985.

Despite its differences with the SDS, the RFM will give its support to the candidates of the united opposition in the regions where the RFM has no nominees of its own. The sympathizers of the RFM will support the SDS candidates in the second round of the elections in the regions where the SDS candidates will have to compete with the candidates of other parties.

According to Akhmed Dogan the movement will win at least 20 seats in the future Grand National Assembly.

He said that the RFM "has no separatist or autonomist ambitions" and denied to have made the statements attributed to him, namely, that "the solution to Bulgaria's ethnic problem should be similar to that in Germany."

Asked why the RFM uses the Turkish language in its election campaign, an act that runs counter to the provisions contained in the declaration of the National Assembly According to which the Bulgarian language is the sole official language in Bulgaria, Akhmed Dogan said that the addresses in Turkish made at the RFM rallies were of only five-minute duration. He said that the BSP and the SDS also used Turkish in their election campaign carried out in the regions inhabited by compact masses of Turkish-speaking population.

The RFM will start publishing its own paper of a one-hundred-thousand copies circulation in Bulgarian and Turkish, Akhmed Dogan said. He explained that the RFM had received copying equipment from "the international public."

Interior Ministry Warns of Rally 'Provocations'

AU0606194990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Announcement issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Sofia on 6 June]

[Text] In connection with rallies of the main political movements in the country scheduled for 7 June in Sofia, the ministry has received information concerning possible attempts to organize provocations, which could prompt acts of violence.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs announces its readiness to ensure the free conduct of the preelection rallies of all the political parties in the country. The forces in charge of maintaining public order have been instructed to firmly and uncompromisingly use the legal prerogatives granted them to counter any and all attempts to violate public order, regardless of the violators' party affiliation.

Egg-Throwing Incident at UDF Kurdzhali Rally

AU0606200090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] On 6 June, the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] organized an election rally in Kurdzhali. Zhelyu Zhelev and Krum Nevrokopski were guests of the UDF's members and supporters in the city.

Not one of the speakers was able to peacefully complete his speech. Egg-throwing incidents occurred repeatedly. This time it was innocent children who were hit by the eggs.

The continuous exclamations "BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]! BSP!" created the impression that this was not a UDF, but rather a BSP election rally.

BSP Announces Sofia Rally, Processions 7 Jun

AU0706072490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 6 Jun 90 p 1

[Text] The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] invites its members, friends, supporters, all citizens, and visitors to the capital to a large election rally to be held at 1800 [1500 GMT] on 7 June 1990 in Ninth September Square in Sofia.

Let us raise our decisive voice in support of the BSP platform for our country's radical democratic renewal.

We propose to organize at 1700 [1400 GMT] election campaign processions from Bulgaria Square, Revival

Square, Lion Bridge Square, and the Vladimir Zaimov Park to Ninth September Square.

After the rally a rich cultural program awaits you in Ninth September Square, Aleksandur Nevski Square, and in front of the Ivan Vazov National Theater.

Let everyone come to the rally!

Opposition Said Full of Election 'Confidence'

AU0606193590 Sofia BTA in English
1757 GMT 6 Jun 90

["SDS: Strong Confidence-Enjoying Coalition"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 6 Jun (BTA)—The Union of Democratic Forces is a strong enough coalition which will successfully pass the test of the elections, stated Prof. Petur Beron, secretary of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF], answering a BTA reporter's question what the relations within the SDS are.

Prof. Petur Beron reminded that the parties and associations which are members of the SDS have agreed on joint action until the expiry of the mandate of the Grand National Assembly which will be elected on June 10 and June 17.

The coalition has so far withstood so many blows that it will successfully make it in the elections, too, Prof. Beron said. The elections will show what the attitude towards the separate parties and candidates really is. According to Prof. Beron a redistribution of forces is possible only after that. He obviously considers it possible that some may seek contacts outside the SDS. Prof. Beron himself is for preserving the integrity of the SDS for a longer time, because as an opposition force it already enjoys the confidence of the people.

Main Political Parties Agree on Foreign Policy

AU0606193790 Sofia BTA in English
1743 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, June 6 (BTA)—Representatives of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) said at a news conference today [6 June] that there was concord between the three main political forces in the country on foreign policy. The differences boiled down to details and that would facilitate the work of the future government.

In general terms, the three forces think the country should "open" more to Western Europe, the U.S. and Canada but will not betray the Soviet Union and the East European countries. The BSP representative said the Warsaw Treaty was in a crisis and it would be imperative to optimise the cooperation between the allies.

The SDS representatives said Bulgaria would stay loyal to the Warsaw Treaty. In their view, the country's orientation would gradually intensify its links with the West, while the relations with the Soviet Union should be based on partnership, mutual respect and real mutual benefit.

"Bulgaria played the infamous part of a silent appendage to a superpower and the Communist Party is to blame for that," SDS's Petur Beron recalled.

The three main political forces will try to promote good relations with the Balkan neighbours.

The BSP representative admitted as a mistake of Zhivkov's regime the silence over the three million Bulgarians living outside the country.

Mezdra Constituency Poll Shows BSP Majority

AU0606161390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
3 Jun 90 p 4

[Text] During the period, 10 to 25 May 1990, a public opinion poll on the Grand National Assembly elections was carried out in Mezdra Constituency No. 79. A total of 849 citizens over the age of 18, selected at random, were questioned. The information was collected through individual, anonymous polls. The question: "Which political party, or coalition is going to win the most votes during the elections?" produced the following results:

Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS]—7.4 percent; BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]—77.2 percent; UDF [Union of Democratic Forces]—12.3 percent.

Government 'Urgent Measures' on Ruse Pollution

AU0606182190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1300 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] The Council of Ministers has released the following announcement:

In connection with the continuing air pollution in Ruse, caused by gas discharges of the chemical plants in Giurgiu, the Government has adopted the following urgent measures:

The Romanian charge d'affaires in Sofia has been summoned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Our country's concern was pointed out to him, and it was demanded that the Romanian authorities take the necessary steps to improve the ecological situation in the region.

Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, instructed the Bulgarian ambassador to Bucharest to convey a verbal message to Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman. The message appeals to the Romanian Government to adopt urgent measures to stop the gas discharges. It was proposed to accelerate the work on preparing an ecological convention of the Danube states that will protect the population from all environmental hazards.

As a result of those contacts, it was agreed to hold a meeting between delegations of the two countries. The meeting will take place tomorrow, 7 June, in Bucharest. The Bulgarian delegation will include representatives of

scientific and ecological circles. The government will immediately report the results of the meeting to our public.

Complaints Against Romanian Plant's Pollution

AU0606155090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] A rank, unpleasant, and sickening odor woke up hundreds of Ruse citizens at 0300 [2400 GMT], and the strongly increased chlorine concentration at the beginning of the workday alarmed the city's population. Specialists of the regional environmental protection inspection authorities, tipped off by local citizens, conducted additional measurements of the air quality. The results showed that the discharges of chlorine ion in certain areas were three times higher than the allowed maximum. As the measuring equipment again confirmed, the Giurgiu chemical plant was the source of the pollution.

The chairman of the Executive Committee of the Ruse Municipal Council sent a new protest telex to Giurgiu's mayor, Adrian Rantes, in which he demands his personal intervention to stop the production of chlorine until the technical serviceability of the equipment is improved.

Ecological Group Protests Belene Nuclear Plant

AU0606193490 Sofia BTA in English 1805 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Jun (BTA)—The Public Committee for Ecological and Economic Protection of the Svishtov Region circulated an appeal to Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov. It reads that the agreement not to construct the Belene Nuclear Power Plant is not observed and attempts are being made to lure the public. The committee informs the Bulgarian prime minister that it is resolved to initiate energetic actions of civil disobedience.

Premier Lukanov Visits Pleven Constituency

AU0406201790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] On 4 June Andrey Lukanov, member of the Presidium Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], visited his Pleven constituency, where he is a candidate in the 52d election district. He met health industry workers and visited the (?Mara Belcheva) apartment complex. Afterward at the Iliya Beshkov Arts Gallery, together with Professor Svetlin Rusev and painter Georgi Konstantinov, and candidates for people's deputies, he talked with painters, writers, and other representatives of the intelligentsia.

At a news conference Andrey Lukanov answered many questions related to the BSP election platform and the necessity of creating an atmosphere of free and democratic elections, at which the people will elect its representatives to the Grand National Assembly.

Parties' Economic Experts' News Conference

AU0606141690 Sofia BTA in English 1337 GMT 6 Jun 90

["Three Opinions on Money Laundering"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 6 Jun (BTA)—The Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF] is against a reform that would help the nomenclature launder its money "eating up" at the same time citizens' savings, Ognyan Pishev, economic expert of the SDS, stated today. He explained that the nomenclature has money and connections, but it has not the economic culture for market behavior. Only the establishment of real competition will make it possible for everybody to show their worth.

"Dirty money" can be seized through a new normative regulation, said Ivan Grozev, representative of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS).

Rumen Gechev of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) said that 10-12 per cent of all depositors possess 50 per cent of the money deposited in banks. But a great part of the concealed savings do not belong to the nomenclature but to black marketeers. According to him a reform in the taxation of incomes is needed.

These are the opinions stated by representatives of the SDS, the BSP, and the BZNS at today's news conference held at the Election Press Center. It was devoted to problems of Bulgaria's socioeconomic development. The representatives of the three major forces that will run in the elections briefed the journalists about their about their economic platforms.

BSP Supreme Council Session Reported

AU0506223090 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 2 Jun 90 p 1

[Text] An expanded session of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council was held on 1 June 1990 at the Sofia "Georgi Kirkov" Hall, as announced by BSP Supreme Council Headquarters. Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, delivered an address on the party's specific tasks related to the election campaign activities.

The participants in the session, after numerous lively debates, confirmed the evaluations on the trends of the party's work submitted in Aleksandur Lilov's report. It was decided that the proposals and recommendations submitted in the aforementioned report should be taken into consideration over the forthcoming days preceding the elections.

BSP Returns 51 Buildings to State

AU0606160790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 5 Jun 90 p 1

["Decision" rendered by the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) Supreme Council on Party Property: "BSP Hands Over 51 Buildings to the State"]

[Text] 1. The Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] assesses as incorrect the former investment practice of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] characteristic of the past period. This policy was aimed at constructing huge representative party clubs, which exceeded the party's real needs, did not correspond to the country's economic situation, and insulted the citizens' sense of justice. Those buildings personified the totalitarian past with which our party has uncompromisingly and categorically parted, and symbolize the party's monopoly on power, which earlier was incorporated in the Constitution, and which the party itself already relinquished.

2. The BSP, which is renewing itself, will in the future maintain a small apparatus of political aides and will rely on the principle of voluntary work. Taking note of the real need for buildings and premises in party work, the general socioeconomic situation in the country, and the citizens' sense of justice, the BSP is aware of the fact that the construction of huge party club buildings does not correspond to the party's course of renewal, and that those buildings are not necessary for the party's work.

3. Guided by the aforementioned considerations, the BSP Supreme Council hands over to the state party property 51 buildings, furniture, and other basic commodities with a value of approximately 250 million leva. This property could most appropriately be used for the benefit of the population, in the areas of health protection, the needs of youth and children, improving educational facilities, cultural activity, serving the needs of the state organs, municipal councils, and public organizations, or serving as premises of courts of law, economic chambers, business centers, banks, and so forth.

4. In exchange, contracts are to be signed, on the basis of which the municipal people's councils will either sell to or provide the party with modest buildings and premises, which correspond to the party's needs and which will be used in the work of the party aides, the party clubs on the basis of places of living and interests, public halls, and so on. In accordance with the specific conditions in the relevant municipalities, a part of the buildings that the party is handing over will remain party property.

5. The handing over of the building will be implemented within a short period of time. The BSP Supreme Council expresses its readiness to hand the buildings over not later than 30 July 1990.

Dimitrov Interviewed as BSP candidate

AU0606155790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 3 Jun 90 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Boyko Dimitrov, Bulgarian Socialist Party candidate for the Radomir constituency, by Angel Bonev; place and date not given; appearing under the rubric: "Our Candidates": "Can You Travel To Europe In a Trabant? It all Depends on Who Is Driving"]

[Excerpts] [Bonev] Is there a question you are not prepared to discuss with your constituents?

[Dimitrov] There is no subject which I would not openly discuss with my constituents, with perhaps one exception—the question of Georgi Dimitrov's burial. I think that the family should decide where one of its members should be buried. No one should be deprived of this right.

[Bonev] What do you appreciate about your competitors in the election campaign?

[Dimitrov] I have seven competitors in the Radomir Constituency. I am not personally acquainted with them. I understood that the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] candidate is an experienced lawyer. I would like him and all my other opponents to be honest, fair, intelligent, and competent people, inspired by a high-minded sense of civic responsibility.

[Bonev] Do you know what the UDF candidate thinks about you?

[Dimitrov] I heard that he was making fun of my Trabant automobile, asking whether "Minister Dimitrov intends to drive to Europe in this car?" Nevertheless, it is not important what kind of car one is driving; what matters is who is sitting behind the wheel. Our former leaders preferred Mercedes, but we did not travel far in them. I appreciate a sense of humor. I hope that my competitor from the UDF will preserve his sense of humor on election day when the results will be announced. Perhaps he will need it on that occasion.

[Bonev] Do you consider yourself as one of the Bulgarian Socialist Party's [BSP] reformers? Where do you place yourself?

[Dimitrov] Yes, considering my views and convictions, I support radical reforms, but I am also a pragmatist with regard to their application. I am in favor of a realistic approach. I do not consider myself as belonging to any groups and platforms of the party—I highly appreciate my independence. I have never permitted anyone to place me in the position of being "someone's man." [passage omitted]

[Bonev] The omnipresent principle of the nomenklatura never disturbed you?

[Dimitrov] Every organization has a nomenklatura, that is, a list of functionaries on the payroll. What disturbs us are the cadres who have disgraced themselves. The most dangerous people are "the conservatives for opportunistic reasons," namely, the people who are trying to stay in power by all means, because this is a question of survival for them. Sincerely convinced conservatives are no less dangerous, however, considering that they always drag us backwards.

[Bonev] Which geographical sphere shall exert greater influence on our country in the future?

[Dimitrov] It is history, and not geography, that determines Bulgaria's foreign political orientation. Our trend toward the East in the period following 9 September 1944 may be criticized, but thanks to it, Bulgaria and the Balkans lived through an era of peace and relative stability after long periods of wars and unrest. In the future we shall engage in a much greater cooperation with the West—I say cooperation, because I do not like the word "influence" which indicates a one-way development. In doing so we by no means intend to reject everything which the Soviet Union contributed to our security and to our economy. [passage omitted]

[Bonev] As the leader of Bulgarian diplomacy, do you have the feeling that the West has taken notice of our efforts in opening up?

[Dimitrov] The West duly appreciates the intensity of the democratic changes under way in our country, and this is the basis of its actions regarding our country. This fact was confirmed by the agreement which Andrey Lukanov recently signed with the EC in Brussels. [passage omitted]

[Bonev] The thesis of the opposition is different.

[Dimitrov] The opposition's thesis that Bulgaria would and should remain isolated, and the West would definitely turn its back on us in case of the BSP victory, is groundless. [passage omitted]

[Bonev] After the UDF refused to sign the agreement on nonviolence, numerous people share a foreboding of disaster.

[Dimitrov] The UDF's refusal was shocking, especially with regard to the manner in which it was presented. I would not like to dramatize either the fact or its possible consequences, but it is important that the BSP supporters should keep their calm and their polite manners in dealing with the opposition. The government is working with calm and confidence, and the most important thing, for the time being, is that we should resist all provocations. [passage omitted]

[Bonev] Is this tense atmosphere not likely to make us concentrate on emotions, thus preventing us from discussing the platforms of overcoming the crisis?

[Dimitrov] I do not agree with your opinion that election platforms are not being discussed. It is true that emotions may prevail here and there, but this does not prevent us from engaging in serious political discussion. The platforms of the BSP and of the other parties and movements are clearly defined, and even coincide on some points. Differences exist rather in the behavior of election campaign participants and in the manner in which they defend their arguments. The mass media have also been heating up the atmosphere recently, and even DUMA, on some occasions, portrays a higher degree of emotions than really exist. [passage omitted]

National Youth Democratic Union States Position

AU0606161990 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 1 Jun 90 p 2

[Article by Zhivkov Kirov, chairman of the National Youth Democratic Union: "National Consensus Without Political Discrimination"]

[Text] We decided to support the appeal [President Mladenov's 21 May Appeal for Nonviolence in Elections] to the political forces and the citizens because it calls for national consensus, political culture, and tolerance in the name of progress and democracy in Bulgaria.

The natural and essential struggle of the political parties must not turn them into enemies who splinter and embitter the Bulgarian people. The appeal to give priority to national interests over interparty quarrels and struggles conforms with our organization's essential goal.

We also want to clearly express our position that neither democracy nor national consensus are possible if political discrimination of the kind imposed at the moment by the "basic political forces" toward the other parties and movements exists. We are not an organization that registered for the elections. Our considerations are of a principled nature. Could any elections really be democratic if two major political conglomerates have divided the means and possibilities of propaganda, while the other political forces have been silenced? From time to time the other political forces are allowed to say something, but such an existence is painful. We ask: Are we doomed to a "slow death" by the aforementioned "basic political forces?" Democracy has iron laws and rules without which it is anything but a democracy. One of them is to provide equal opportunities for political activity and struggle, including the election struggle. It is precisely equality, understood as equality at the outset and equality of opportunity, that is one of democracy's foundations. We think that this principle has great importance in determining how we shall construct Bulgaria after 10 June, and whether we shall achieve real freedom and democracy. This point has been missed in the appeal.

Government Decree on Black Market, Speculation

AU0506222190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Recently, speculation in consumer goods has reached massive proportions. Goods are diverted from warehouses and shops, and then sold outside established markets. Despite specific instructions, individual trade workers continue to sell goods for personal use above the normal quantity, and sell goods that are in short supply to preferred customers.

Cases of speculation on the sale of goods purchased from the market system or from the warehouses have increased. This has been mostly done by citizens, who have not acquired a permit to engage in trade activity.

Trade is conducted outside the specific places designated for this purpose by the people's councils.

To curb the speculative trade in consumer goods the Council of Ministers adopted a special decision. It instructs the organs of the Committee on State and People's Control, the Main Inspection Authority on Trade and Services, and other control organs, to enhance the controls on requirements related to citizens engaged in illegal trade, and restricting the illegal trade of consumer goods. These organs should hold violators accountable according to the Law on Administrative Violations and Penalties, and other laws.

The executive committees of the oblast and municipal people's councils have been instructed to issue specific instructions to restrict the sale of foodstuffs and nonfoodstuffs by the trade shops system for quantities above those for personal use. It was recommended that the Federation of Consumers in Bulgaria and other public organization and trade control organs conduct clarifying activity through the mass media and inform the population about the state of the domestic market and urge the citizens to observe the normative acts related to practicing trade activity. They must inform officials about violations that have been established, and reproach the violators.

Sociological Research on Population's Fears

AU0406141790 Sofia BTA in English
1117 GMT 4 Jun 90

["What Do the Bulgarians Fear"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 4 Jun (BTA)—Sixty per cent of the respondents in a sociological survey consider that in the present political situation Bulgaria's security and stability are in real danger.

The enquiry was held with 2069 Bulgarians. More than 70 per cent of the respondents are not party members. Its authors are of the opinion that the results should be interpreted as outlining certain trends, but no election forecasts should be made on this basis. The answers give an idea of today's concerns and fears of the Bulgarians.

70 per cent are afraid of the uncontrollable increase of prices; 70 per cent fear that there may be political repressions; 70 per cent are afraid of the growing unemployment; 65 per cent of the lack of victuals; 63 per cent of fanning up ethnic conflicts; 56 per cent of an ecological catastrophe; 54 per cent of the growing criminality; 48 per cent of opposing the workers, the intelligentsia and the peasants to each other.

The alarm is understandable, the authors of the survey point out. According to them there are symptoms showing that the social psyche of the Bulgarians is affected: 38 per cent of the respondents consider that country may come under the sway of other states; 31 per cent fear that a military regime may be established; 28 per cent are afraid of an aggression on the part of a neighboring country.

Where do the threats come from?

42 per cent of the respondents associate them with the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP); 24 per cent with the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS); 12 per cent with the opposition parties and movements outside the SDS; 9 per cent with the nationalistic groupings; 9 per cent with the Committee for the Protection of National Interests which is considered to be a nationalistic organization.

That the alarm of the Bulgarians is growing these days is proved by the fact that 20 per cent of the respondents are afraid of stating their opinion about the political forces. 54 per cent have trust in their families; 43 per cent in their close friends. 38 per cent share their political evaluations with their colleagues. But according to the specialists the psychological consequences are contradictory untrustworthy information is most easily circulated in closed communities.

Analyzing the fears of the Bulgarians, the authors of the survey are not surprised that 34 per cent of the respondents do not believe that the forthcoming elections will be really secret. The mistrust is most strongly marked in villagers and the Bulgarians under 30 years of age.

Bulgarian Communist Party Revived in Oryakhovo

AU0606181090 Sofia BTA in English
1631 GMT 6 Jun 90

["Bulgaria Has Communist Party Again"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 6 Jun (BTA)—Today a new Bulgarian Communist Party (Renewed) was founded in the Danubian town of Oryakhovo (northwestern Bulgaria). The initiative group considers that the absence of a communist party from Bulgaria's political life is unjustified.

Regional TV Program Launched in Ruse

AU2905165290 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
28 May 90 p 2

[Tsenka Ginkova dispatch]

[Text] The Ruse Television Center recently broadcast its first independent transmission. The Ruse television workers have the ambition to broadcast an independent regional program in the free hours available in the first and second television program, which will include topical political, economic, and cultural news.

At the moment, the regional program covers about 50 kilometers.

Because the program is not financed by the Television Committee, the Ruse Television Center is looking for sponsors.

Agreement on Border Zones Signed With SFRY

AU0606193690 Sofia BTA in English
1809 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Jun (BTA)—The permanent mixed Bulgaro-Yugoslav commission for the application of the agreement on the passage of the border population in the border zone is having a session here from June 4 to 6. An agreement on changes in the agreement was signed according to which any Bulgarian or Yugoslav citizen living within the 20 km border zone has the right to take out and in presents and articles worth up to (RR) 15 [rubles]. Both sides tabled a number of proposals to topicalise the agreement. The session passed in an atmosphere of understanding and mutual drive to promote border cooperation.

UK's Maxwell Meets Lukanov, Concludes Deals

AU0606134890 Sofia BTA in English
1303 GMT 6 Jun 90

["Maxwell Is Optimistic Over Bulgaria's Future"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 6 Jun (BTA)—I am very optimistic over Bulgaria's future, told a group of journalists the British tycoon Robert Maxwell after the meeting he had today with Bulgaria's Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov. All Europe and the whole world are concerned as to whether Bulgaria would be able to hold honest and violence-free elections.

I was glad to hear from the prime minister that the incidents that have occurred so far have not political nature. I repeat, Bulgaria needs calm and peaceful elections and the Bulgarian people is given the historical chance to elect a democratic pluralistic government, the guest underlined.

At their meeting Mr. Lukanov and Mr. Maxwell discussed the prospects of the country's transition to a market economy. Special attention was paid to the cooperation in tourism and to the problems related to the opening of a branch of the London Bishopsgate Investment Bank which is Mr. Maxwell's property.

Later on Mr. Maxwell signed a number of agreements, one of them on the opening of a branch of his London bank in Bulgaria. Thus Mr. Maxwell will become the first foreigner who has a bank here.

The Bulgarian Ministry of Finance, the Committee for Tourism and Mr. Maxwell's Mirror Inc. reached an agreement on the setting up of a holding company, the shares of the two sides in which will be fifty-fifty. It will operate in the premises of the former government residence Perla on the Black Sea coast. The British tycoon will finance the completion of the luxury hotel which is being built there. It is envisaged to hold there important international meetings and symposiums, to organize sessions of the managing boards of different companies, to film programs with the participation of world-famous performers.

Ten per cent of the profits made at Perla will go to the state and 60 per cent will be credited to the account of a special children's health care fund.

It is also envisaged that Mr. Maxwell will supply victuals to this country amounting to 15 million dollars; the equal value in Bulgarian leva realized from their sale will be managed jointly with the Bulgarian Committee for Tourism. The purpose is to make use of the profits for the encouragement of private enterprise in the country through granting credits under favourable terms.

A protocol was signed according to which Mr. Maxwell will participate in the exploitation of the antibiotics plant in Razgrad.

The guest left the country today.

Jakes, Former Communist Officials Detained

LD0606132190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1300 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] According to information available to the CTK domestic editorial office, in addition to Vasil Bilak, the security service has detained other former high-ranking communist functionaries. These are: Milos Jakes, Jozef Lenart, Rudolf Hegenbart, and Michal Stefanak.

Questioned on '68 Pact Intervention

LD0606181590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] The Ministry of the Interior of the Slovak Republic announced that security members have detained in Bratislava Vasil Bilak, former secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, who is suspected of committing serious criminal activity. Andrej Samel, deputy federal minister of the interior, told CTK today that, besides Vasil Bilak, the following officials of the CPCZ Central Committee were summoned last night and today, according to Paragraph 19 of the 1974 Law No. 40, in order to provide necessary explanation about the entry of Warsaw Pact troops into Czechoslovakia in 1968 and other criminal activity: Milos Jakes, its general secretary; Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary; Rudolf Hegenbart, head of the State Administration Department; and Michal Stafanak, head of the Interntional Department.

Following repeated questions by CTK, the Office of the Prosecutor General of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic said that the results of the interrogation of the detained Vasil Bilak and the summoned Milos Jakes, Jozef Lenart, Rudolf Hegenbart, and Michal Stefanak are not yet known. A decision on further conduct will be made after these interrogations have been assessed.

Further on Questioning of Former Officials

LD0706085790 Prague CTK in English 0005 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 6 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak news agency asked late tonight press spokesman for the Czechoslovak Prosecutor General's Office Ivan Mandalov for precision information concerning the earlier reported detention of Vasil Bilak and interrogations of Milos Jakes, Jozef Lenart, Rudolf Hegenbart and Michal Stefanak, all former leading officials of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

Ivan Mandalov confirmed that Vasil Bilak was detained by an investigator of the Federal Interior Ministry in Bratislava last night. Further course of action will be decided after assessment of the interrogation.

Today, the Czechoslovak Prosecutor General's Office interrogated in Prague Milos Jakes, Jozef Lenart and Rudolf Hegenbart. Summoned was also Michal Stefanak who, however, could not be interrogated today for law-based reasons.

"I am not empowered to give further details, but the public will be informed through CTK as soon as the results of the investigation allow it," Ivan Mandalov said.

He also commented on the REUTER's news according to which Ivan Mandalov said that three of the detained, including R. Hegenbart and M. Stefanak, answered the questions put to them, but one refused. He said he could not answer because he was still bound by official secrecy commitments.

According to Ivan Mandalov this formulation by REUTER is not precise since the above-mentioned officials are not detained, but were only interrogated. M. Stefanak did not refuse to reply, but he was not interrogated under Paragraph 99 of the Penal Code which bans interrogation.

MLADA FRONTA Interviews Rudolf Hegenbart

LD0706092790 Prague CTK in English 0752 GMT 7 Jun 90

["Czech Paper Interviews Former Communist Official"—CTK headline]

[Text] Prague June 7 (CTK)—A former Czechoslovak Communist Party official today accused former Czechoslovak premier and now Communist Party Chairman Ladislav Adamec of intrigues and efforts to become party general secretary in October 1989.

The name of Rudolf Hegenbart, until the fall of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia in November 1989 head of the party Central Committee Department for Security and Army Affairs, appeared in connection with opinions that the brutal police action against a student demonstration on November 17 last year had been organized by part of the Communist Party leadership with the aim to discredit the conservative part in the party leadership and bring about its downfall.

Rudolf Hegenbart told MLADA FRONTA that he did not know anything about such a background of November 17, 1989 and he himself had not sought anything. He said it was unlikely that Moscow would have counted with him for the post of Czechoslovak Communist Party general secretary as he himself never had such ambitions.

Hegenbart criticized the present Communist Party whose leadership, he said, includes a number of Stalinists and people linked with the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry. He believed the Communist Party's present effort at its own reform was insincere. The party succeeded in liquidating the democratic forum of communists, which worked inside the party as a reform platform after November 17, 1989, Hegenbart said, indicating that Chairman Ladislav Adamec and party First Secretary Vasil Mohorita were personally responsible for the present state in the Communist Party. He said the party cannot survive, it must split into conservatives and reformists.

Interior Minister Speculates on Bombing Suspects

LD0606140490 Prague CTK in English 1259 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 6 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Minister of the Interior Richard Sacher told CTK today [6 June] that a close range of persons has already been determined on the basis of gained information and that a person who is responsible for Saturday's explosion at Prague's Old Town square in which 18 people were injured will be chosen.

He said that the ministry is intensively cooperating with the public, investigating evidence of hundreds of people, dozens of video-tapes, negatives and photographs sent to the ministry.

The bomb exploded at Old Town Square Saturday afternoon when several hundred people were present. The metal tube containing the explosive was detonated by seven flat batteries with a launching device [as received] at an alarm-clock.

Official on Prague Bombing, Other Bomb Threats

AU0606162490 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 5 Jun 90 p 1, 2

[Interview with First Deputy Interior Minister Andrej Samel by "tma"- and "rd"-signed reporters; place and date not given: "Andrej Samel on the Explosion"; first paragrpah is MLADA FRONTA introduction]

[Text] The first deputy interior minister's primary task is the preparation of the peaceful course of the elections. For this reason he was interested in the explosion on Old Town Square [in Prague]. We asked him why he was at the square almost immediately after the explosion.

[Samel] By coincidence, I was preparing the plan of activities for the next period, and I visited the operational center as usual. The officer was just registering the report on the explosion.

[MLADA FRONTA] What is your personal opinion on what happened? Are there some specific leads?

[Samel] Of course there are. An analytical examination is being carried out at this moment. A group of criminologists and experts is doing good, intensive work. Nevertheless, I believe that this team should be completed by the most experienced people from the regions and Slovakia.

[MLADA FRONTA] President Havel also gave his opinion on the matter.

[Samel] He was one of the first to be informed about the explosion. I fully agree with his opinion expressed in "Conversations from Lany," although some people may think this opinion is tough. I think that the Security Corps need not be afraid; its members fully sympathize with the government of national consensus.

[MLADA FRONTA] Mr. Deputy, has tension inside the state increased recently?

[Samel] Not significantly. The Operation Center registered five bomb threats recently—in the Modrany Engineering Works, in the Municipal House in Prague, etc. On Sunday [3 June], a homemade explosive device blew up in Strahov College Residence, also in Prague. One student of the Czech College of Technology has been slightly injured.

Interior Ministry Outlines Election Security

LD0506201390 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1500 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Because we are only three days away from the long-awaited first free elections, the most important task of the Federal Ministry of the Interior is to guarantee security throughout the election preparations and the actual elections. It should also guarantee peace and order after the announcement of the election results. This is why today's meeting of the ministry's central operational headquarters focused on the analysis of the security situation with regard to the coming historic days. Even a CTK correspondent was able to take part in it as the first civilian. For example, security in the transportation of election results was discussed. Votes will be transported from Slovakia under full protection by the aviation administration of the Federal Ministry of the Interior. The same great care will be given to their transportation on land. All polling stations in the whole federation will be guarded round the clock by public security members, Interior Ministry troops, the Border Guards, the activists from among general public, and so on. From today onward the Central Electoral Commission building and the tabulation centers have been under full protection.

Major General Andrej Samel, first deputy federal minister of the interior, has clarified his knowledge of the details of the procedure for putting these units on alert. He and his colleagues then discussed examples of the situations which could materialize during the elections and also afterward in cases when the defeated are simply unable to come to terms with the results of the elections.

Czech Interior Ministry on Election Security

LD0606204690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Report on interview with Czech Deputy Interior Minister Colonel Josef Petrasek by unidentified CTK correspondent; place and date not given]

[Text] According to an order from the Czech Ministry of the Interior, Public Security officials will take uncompromising measures against all who intend to disrupt order during and after the elections, said Czech Deputy Interior Minister Colonel Josef Petrasek in an interview with CTK.

He said that although truncheons have become infamous as a result of the action on Narodni Trida [street], they are the only peaceful means [as heard] used against those who breach the peace and those who are violent. Police officers

must be protected against chains, knives, or steel bars. After all, they protect those who do not break the law.

On the protection of polling stations, he said that the Czech Election Commission building has been under guard since yesterday and that other premises will be guarded starting tomorrow. The secure transportation of election materials is 100 percent assured, and there will be checks on whether the ban on the sale of alcohol is being adhered to. He described the present security situation as relatively good, apart from the unusual explosion on Old Town Square. In summary, he said that Interior Ministry officials are not only prepared to ensure the peaceful course of the elections, but also for any possible emotions which could arise among the public after the results are announced.

VPN Leads Final Poll in Slovakia

AU0606162790 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 1 Jun 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "The Final Polls"]

[Text] Bratislava—According to the law on elections to the Federal Assembly and to the Slovak National Council, election polls may only be published more than seven days prior to elections.

The most recent data on the polls—valid on the eighth and ninth day prior to elections—was acquired in a representative survey organized by the Methodical Research Commission of Slovak Radio. The polls were held among a sample of 985 respondents and the results were published on the same day:

On 30-31 May 1990, 87 percent of the Slovak population—which has the right to vote—decided to participate in the elections; 11.5 percent are undecided; and 1.3 percent intend to ignore the elections.

From the answer to the question "If the elections were held tomorrow, which political party or movement would you vote for?" the following order ensued: [SNR = Slovak National Council; SN FZ = Chamber of Nations; SL FZ = Peoples' Chamber]

	SNR	SN FZ	SL FZ
Public Against Violence	26.1	25.6	25.5
Christian Democratic Movement	18.0	19.9	18.3
CPCZ	12.1	12.2	12.1
Slovak National Party	8.7	10.4	8.6
Democratic Party	7.3	5.5	6.5
Green Party	4.4	4.7	5.8
Coexistence	4.8	5.8	5.1
Czechoslovak Social Democracy	2.2	1.9	2.3

A week before the elections, the Public Against Violence movement was ranked first in the voters' preferences.

Cic: New CSFR Government 'Around 25 June'

LD0606200490 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Interview with Slovak Premier Milan Cic by correspondent Alica Bielikova in Bratislava on 6 June following a Slovak Government session—recorded]

[Text] [Bielikova] The development strategy for the Slovak economy, which was discussed by the Slovak Government today, envisages sovereignty of the republics, sovereignty of national economies. Do you envisage this actually happening?

[Cic] If all of us take the principles of the federation seriously and, above all, the fact that the demand for sovereignty is evident, I think that we will succeed. We have talked about these things many times with our Czech colleagues, too, and we are gradually finding common language. I think that in the future we will eliminate the excessive centralism and that the federation will fulfill those tasks and roles, which will be inevitable, so that the two sovereign republics can live side by side and fulfill other tasks that the federation cannot implement alone.

[Bielikova] As we know, the federal government is of a somewhat different opinion.

[Cic] Yes, of course, the federal government is in the center; national governments have different approaches and different views of the matter. There will probably still be plenty of meetings and conflicts before some of these issues are resolved—those which from the legal point of view are acceptable and clear, but which will have to be reflected in the economic life. This is where I see the struggle in completing the work on new constitutions—the Czech and the Slovak federal constitutions.

[Bielikova] In connection with economic reform, with the transition to a market economy, there is a lot of talk about social security, employment, and unemployment. To what extent is this up to the national economies and what will the role of the state be?

[Cic] We would be lying if we said that everything is all right in this area. It is becoming apparent that the future government will have to know much more about the behavior of the market mechanism because the labor market will also be involved—and this is a very important economic category and will bring many new elements into the lives of our peoples. Situations and problems related to the unemployment issue will also no doubt emerge.

[Bielikova] Can you tell us when the present government will resign and what will happen next?

[Cic] We want to have yet another session prior to our resignation. I asked the ministers today to submit all the important materials to the future government session. The government of national consensus, which has functioned for about six months, will terminate its existence on 20 June this year. Around 25 June a new government should be constituted.

Electoral Commission on 5-Percent Vote Clause

LD0506223290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] The Central Electoral Commission considers it necessary to publish an explanation of the five-percent clause on the election law. [Political parties will have to poll five percent of the votes in order to be represented in the Federal Assembly]. If a citizen votes for a small party, which does not obtain five percent of the valid votes, his vote will not be taken into consideration. His selection will play its role in determining the number of voters who turn up in the elections in a respective region. The number of deputies' seats allocated to the region will depend on this. Thus, voting for a small party does not change the mutual proportion of votes gained by the parties with more than five percent of the votes.

The Central Electoral Commission also reminds everyone that beginning 1400 [1200 GMT] tomorrow, all parties, movements, and coalitions should abstain from any kind of mass campaigning, in particular from putting up posters and holding election meetings.

Council of Europe To Monitor Parliament Elections

LD0506222390 Prague CTK in English 1932 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 5 (CTK)—"We do not want to make statistics or count votes, we just want freedom and democracy in the parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia for both the political parties and coalitions concerned and the voters themselves," Louis Jung of France, head of an observers' delegation of the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe to the June 8-9 elections in Czechoslovakia told a press conference here today [5 June].

The eight-member group consisting of deputies from France, Norway, Sweden and Turkey arrived at the invitation of Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek. The observer and supervising mission is taking place in connection with the application of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic for the admission to the Council of Europe, an international institution associating so far 23 Western European states. Czechoslovakia was granted the special guest status of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg on May 7, 1990. One of the conditions for the admission is the confirmation that a democratic system with a variety of political parties exists in the country as well as a government which will emerge from free elections. Since the beginning of 1990 the Council of Europe has sent groups of its observers to the elections in the GDR, Hungary and Romania.

Stig Gustafsson of Sweden told the press conference he is satisfied with the participation of 22 political parties, movements and coalitions in the current parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia he described as historic. He said he considers it a good prerequisite for the free choice of the citizens, but expressed the opinion that such a big number in the parliament would not be practical.

Head of the group Louis Jung stressed the mission's absolute freedom of motion and its access to all polling stations. The delegation will leave for Slovakia tomorrow and will visit various places in both parts of the federation during the polls on June 8-9. "I am convinced the final evaluation of the parliamentary elections due to be made on June 10 will be positive. I wish that Czechoslovakia become member of the Council of Europe as soon as possible and can thus apply in the fastest possible way the conventions of the Council of Europe in the fields of humanitarian, economic, cultural and other relations," Louis Jung said.

List of Parties Requesting Candidate Screening

LD0506215690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] The request of political parties and movements to screen their candidates with regard to their possible collaboration in the past with the former State Security was discussed by the federal government on 21 May. As announced today, by 1 June the leadership of the following parties and movements had asked that their candidates be screened:

Public Against Violence
The Party of Greens
The Czechoslovak People's Party
The Civic Forum
The Freedom party
The Czechoslovak Democratic Forum
The Movement for Civil Liberty
The Democratic Party
The Christian Democratic Party
The Czechoslovak Social Democracy

Havel Files: No Collaboration With State Security

AU0606162290 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 4 Jun 90 p 4

[CTK report: "President Vetted"]

[Text] Prague—In yesterday's radio broadcast "Conversations from Lany," President Vaclav Havel said that he himself had undergone the vetting process. "It has been found that I am not and have never been a secret collaborator with the State Security, my files are clean, and since 1971 I have been filed under the entry Tomis as a first-rate enemy," he said.

An important preelection speech, which will summarize development in our society and evaluate the preelection campaign, will be delivered by V. Havel tomorrow.

Socialist Party Airs Election Broadcast

LD0506205790

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1600 GMT on 5 June carries a 30-minute election broadcast by the Czechoslovak Socialist Party. The party candidates note that the party is over 100 years old and has never done anything to dishonor itself or the nation. The candidates note the party wants to serve the socially weaker strata, that of the elderly and the disabled people. The party wants to give workers spiritual as well as material values; it is a party founded by workers and which wants to attract workers.

The candidates note that the party may not look good in current opinion polls but that it is not disliked as much as some other parties. The candidates conclude their remarks by saying that people may object that the Socialist Party favored the country name, Czechoslovak Republic, but the party believes it should support the president's original proposal.

Social Democracy Berates Klaus Roundtable Absence

LD0606182290 Prague CTK in English 1238 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 5 (CTK)—Deputy Chairman of the Czechoslovak Social Democracy Jaroslav Tuma today criticized the absence of Federal Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, a representative of the Civic Forum movement, from a televised round-table debate.

At a regular press conference, Jaroslav Tuma said that many outstanding economists, as well as the Social Democracy, disagree with the government's economic program. Nearly all the participants in the debate expected the minister to react to criticisms. Social Democracy representatives intend to argue against Minister Klaus' concept.

Leading secretary of the party Jiri Paroubek said the party was fighting to maintain the support of 10 per cent of the electorate in the Czech republic.

The Social Democracy leaders said the question whether and with whom the party would enter a coalition will be decided next week and journalists would be informed at a press meeting on June 12. They said the party would not join a coalition with the Communist Party. The Civic Forum, in their opinion, associated too many completely different streams of ideas—from the extreme left to the extreme right, and will soon have to decide whom to represent.

Czechoslovak People's Party Election Broadcast

LD0606083790

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 2004 GMT on 5 June carries a 10-minute election broadcast on behalf of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL]. Dr. Josef Bartoncik, CSL chairman and Federal Assembly deputy chairman, delivers an address marking the conclusion of the election campaign. He notes that his decision to make this address was not motivated by the strategy of political struggle. He outlines the bleak heritage left by the totalitarian system in all spheres of society and the future struggle against the legacy of the past. He goes on to point out that the newly gained freedom is reflected in a widest possible range of views expressed in the press and in the way that election campaign has been waged. This rather "distinctive" manner of election campaigning has been experienced by the CSL, which is part of the election grouping of Christian and Democratic Union.

"The lies and slander affected me personally as well as affecting other representatives of our party," he notes, adding: "A treacherous campaign with very transparent objectives has been waged for weeks against Dr. Richard Sacher, federal minister of the interior, or against a man who abolished the state security service and who to the maximum extent possible paralyzes the influence of former members of this essentially criminal organization and who dedicates all his energy and legal proficiency to the building of a new security apparatus. We resolutely reject all accusations. Our party conducted the polemics in a decent manner and restricted itself practically only to defending itself and to refuting the lies."

He continues his talk by pointing to the material poverty of the party on the one hand and to its spiritual wealth on the other hand. He reiterates the principles on which his party operates and goes on to point out that a strong parliament must be a guarantee of further democratic development in our state. This should be a parliament which should not suffer from too many differing opinions and therefore, he notes, it is advantageous to vote for the parties with traditions and flexible policies. The Christian and Democratic Union is one of these parties, he says.

In conclusion, he urges the voters not to allow themselves to be threatened and manipulated in the coming elections. They should vote absolutely freely and decide for the party capable of guaranteeing the development of freedom and democracy, not by election slogans but by an absolutely clear direction of their programme and by the principles from which this programm is derived.

People's Party Chairman Disqualified From Assembly

LD0606214690 Prague CTK in English 1918 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 6 (CTK)—According to significant information available Josef Bartoncik can in no case be

deputy of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, Czechoslovak Deputy Interior Minister Jan Ruml, in charge of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy, said in his statement for CTK today. Josef Bartoncik, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly and chairman of the Czechoslovak Peoples Party, promised yesterday to leave the political scene immediately and withdraw its candidature, Jan Ruml said in his statement, adding that instead information was published today that he was hospitalized for "acute illness" saying he was in a good condition.

"In view of the fact that he did not fulfil his promise I believe that it is my moral duty to stress that Dr Bartoncik is an unprincipled person, trying to conceal his past and misuse the political situation for his benefit until the last minute", Jan Ruml pointed out and expressed the hope that by this statement he will avoid a political scandal in which nobody is interested.

Party Secretary Condemns Action

LD0706052290 Prague CTK in English 2251 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 6 (CTK)—Czechoslovak People's Party Secretary General Jiri Cerny today reacted through CTK to today's statement by Czechoslovak Deputy Interior Minister Jan Ruml describing it as a well-timed move within the pre-election campaign which is over now.

Saying the statement is a gross violation of the election law, Jiri Cerny said his party expects Jan Ruml to present irrefutable proves [as received] to support his claim that Josef Bartoncik, the party's chairman, cannot run as candidate for a seat on the Federal Assembly since he is an "unprincipled person".

Jiri Cerny said that a medical report was issued on Josef Bartoncik's health condition (he was reported to be hospitalized) and announced that a complaint has been lodged against Jan Ruml.

Jiri Cerny also said that the report on the screening of the party's candidates for the June 8-9 elections responsible for which is Jan Ruml did not list Josef Bartoncik.

Czechoslovak Businessmen's Association Broadcast

LD0506211190

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1415 GMT on 5 June carries a 15-minute election broadcast by the Association of Czechoslovak Businessmen of the Czech Republic (Sdruzeni Ceskoslovenskych podnikatelu Ceske republiky).

It begins with the slogan of the Czechoslovak People's Party, which is part of the Christian and Democratic Union—Freedom instead of Socialism—and the motto of the Association of Czechoslovak Businessmen of the Czech Republic—The same chances for all.

One of the founders, (Oto Frinta), candidate to the Federal Assembly's Chamber of People for the Central Bohemian Region, speaks about the association's policy concerning private business. Although all parties claim to support private business, including the current government of national consensus, private business is no panacea after 40 years of centralization and monopoly, because the basic prerequisites for it do not exist. The main prerequisite is equal opportunities for all in a fuctioning market economy based on competition. The state now owns all capital while private business has nothing. Regulations geared for state monopolies are in effect sabotage of the private sector, and a market economy that preserves monopolies is in itself nonsense, he argues.

(Frinta) speaks about the radical wing of economists in the government, which wishes to introduce liberalization of prices, internal and subsequently overall convertibility of currency, and mass privatization of state enterprises into joint-stock companies with shares allocated free to all inhabitants.

The association believes that liberalization of prices while monopolies remain must lead to strong inflationary tendencies. Demonopolization is to be the result of market processes. The favorite slogan of the conservative lobby is that privatization is not urgent. But the private businessman has no chance against the present state giant. The association would like to see the priority privatization of small- and medium-size enterprises, local economic offices, services, the food industry, and the tourist industry, which could react flexibly to increased tourism in Czechoslovakia.

Trade should not be regarded as distribution. Trade must be an active and flexible mediator between the market and production, which is something still ignored in the literature on the economic program. The association would like to see large enterprises privatized by means of auction sales with unlimited access to Czechoslovak citizens and private business. Favorable conditions, which can be regulated for purchase by foreign investors, would be desirable. Conditions in this area are still the same as during the period of real socialism, and foreign investors are losing interest as a result, he reasons. Foreign firms are not concerned by the fact that their shares are held abroad. Denationalization should be preceded by new legal measures.

(Frinta) says there is a great difference between the situation in industry and in land ownership. The association is in favor of every piece of land belonging to a specific idividual. This should be no problem because the Communists' illegal acts since 1948 are to be investigated.

The broadcast goes on to critize the 40 years of promises by the party and government on social certainties. "The same people who made them can now be heard in new parties expressing ideas heard from not just Dr. Nejedly, or Vaclav Kopecky, but also Beria, Trotsky, Josef Visarionovic Stalin, and mainly Dr. Goebels."

Although we used to be told that to be rich is bad, you cannot have a prosperous state if it is composed of poor people with an economy that does not work. We want to be in a free Europe as a sovereign state which is an equal partner so that the difference on each side of the border with Bavaria or Austria disappears, and society is composed of the rich and those who are richer, and those who are able to get ahead, but for the benefit of all. We want the same thing that exists on the basis of the realized programs of the Christian Democratic Parties and movements among our southern and Western neighbors, which are parties of the center right. Just as in Great Britain and the FRG, for effective government there must be parties of both the left and the right to produce a positive influence on the economic situation.

The speaker concludes by saying that although social and ecological issues were not mentioned here, this does not mean that they are not considered by the party. In functioning economies these issues are a matter of course, and economic growth ensures that they are dealt with. It is understandable that most citizens believe that ecology should have priority over economy in our devastated country, but only a healthy economy can deal with ecological problems.

The association recommends that voters support the healthy conservative forces of the center right in the elections. The Christian and Democratic Union is the optimum guarantee of not just private business but also of the true renaissance of the economy. It urges people to vote no. 23 for a return to a prosperous Europe.

Slovak TV Director Apologizes for Havel Program

LD0506224190 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Statement by Slovak Television Director Roman Kalisky; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed television viewers, as director of Slovak Television, I consider it my moral and professional duty to make a statement on the way in which Slovak Television, namely, the main editorial office of television news Bratislava, presented the visit of the president of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Mr. Vaclav Havel, to the west Slovak region. I am not concerned with reports on this significant event in the Czechoslovak Television news and in the Aktuality program. I am concerned with the report we broadcast nationally yesterday evening at 2230 [2030 GMT] following the roundtable of political parties.

We intended it to be a dignified 45-minute culmination of an evening of television. Instead, television viewers saw a 25-minute broadcast which could not stand up in the eyes of an even slightly sensitive viewer as far as the script and the social and professional elements were concerned. In particular, the recording from the meeting on Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava was misleading. I could give a hundred explanations as to why this happened, but not a single one of them, nor all of them together, can stand as a justification for something which simply cannot be justified. This is why today I released the editor in chief of the main television news editorial office from his post at his own request. Following a detailed investigation, further consequences will be drawn against all other employees who will be found to have joint responsibility for this fiasco, to put it mildly.

What has been done cannot be undone, as the Slovak saying goes. But in order to at least partially correct what we did, we will broadcast an edited documentary, Vaclav Havel and Slovakia, which will show the president's deep relationship with Slovakia in a true light, as well as the authority and popularity which this great figure of both our nations enjoys in Slovakia. Thank you for your attention.

Political Legal Interference in Fifties Decried

LD0606230890 Prague CTK in English 2227 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 6 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Prosecutor General's Office today said there is well-grounded suspicion that political bodies interfered in legal proceedings in the 1950's.

In a statement made available to CTK today, the prosecution said that such interference was found in the deaths of citizens P.K., F.N. and B.W.

The circumstances of the killings of the two fomer persons were published in the Czechoslovak press in 1969, but no mention was made of interference by high-ranking political figures. Neither did relevant Communist Party and state bodies show interest in truthful information to be provided for the public during the "normalization" period which followed the crushing of the revival process in Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Treaty troops in 1968.

CTK Interviews Democratic Party Chairman

LD0506203290 Prague CTK in English 1457 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Bratislava June 5 (CTK)—"We participated in the election campaign as a party which has a positive program for all strata of the nation. A party based on Christianity, but not striving for the inclusion of religion in the political struggle and development", chairman of the Slovak Democratic Party Martin Kvetko told CTK today.

"We are aware that the question of Slovak sovereignty has been solved already and will be set in the new constitution in a way satisfying the Slovaks and at the same time ensuring the firm and modern character of Czechoslovakia which will enjoy confidence of the whole world as it did once.

"The Democratic Party will never join either the Communist or the Slovak national parties in a coalition. The Slovak National Party's election program is based on pointed nationalism", Martin Kvetko said.

The almost 78-year-old chairman of the Democratic Party, which won the elections in Slovakia in 1946, had been living in the USA since February 1948, when the Communists assumed power in Czechoslovakia.

Slovak National Party: Not Responsible for Rally

LD0506182390 Prague CTK in English 1207 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Bratislava June 5 (CTK)—The leadership of the Slovak National Party today dissociated itself from a demonstration of separatist views expressed during Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel's visit to the city of Bratislava, west Slovakia, on June 4.

A group of about five hundred people chanted slogans such as "Independent Slovakia" and "Havel Back to Prague" and the enraged atmosphere made it impossible for Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa to address the rally.

The Slovak National Party said in its statement "we declare, that we did not organize the participation of our party members in that rally and that is why we cannot be responsible for the demonstration of the lack of civilized manners and lack of respect of a group of citizens, from which the Slovak National Party dissociates itself. At the same period the Slovak National Party had its own meeting at a different place in Bratislava...we are of the opinion that the problems which heaped up in our republic could be solved only by means of a constructive approach and in a calm atmosphere," the Slovak National Party's standpoint said.

Slovak CP: No Attacks on Opposition Candidates

LD0506183990 Prague CTK in English 1308 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Bratislava June 5 (CTK)—The Slovak Communist Party Executive Committee chairman told journalists here today the Communist Party had agreed with representatives of the Democratic Party and the Public Against Violence coordinating centre not to resort in their pre-election campaign to making attacks on candidates of other parties.

Peter Weiss said attacks on persons as well as parties might occur yet before the elections. He pointed out that the Communist Party daily could publish various interesting documents, e.g. applications of today's activists of other political parties and movements who applied for membership in the Czechoslovak Communist Party before the November events in 1989. But voters in Slovakia are more interested in the present and the future then in the past, the Communist Party official said.

He stressed that in drawing its list of candidates the Slovak Communist party had laid emphasis on personalities and above all on young people who were drawing a lesson mainly from Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's process of restructuring.

He reacted to a question that most political parties and movements would not join the coalition with the Slovak Communist Party saying that the Communists are ready even for government cooperation as they still have enough experts although many of them have joined other parties. The Communist Party is ready to be a constructive opposition. In order to settle the primary national and federative interests after the elections the party is ready to put aside its own party interests as well as personal political ambitions, Peter Weiss emphasized.

Calfa Addresses Rally on Economic Reform

LD0506221690 Prague CTK in English 1928 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Bratislava June 5 (CTK)—The economic reform is a whole package of principal steps aimed at encouraging modern and effective production. Their common denominator is the effort to revive economic balance and dynamism. Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa told a rally of workers of the East Slovak Iron Works in Kosice, East Slovakia, today.

The liberalization of prices, which is the most sensitive and openly to say perhaps the most disputable issue of the whole reform, is considered for the beginning of the next year, Marian Calfa said, adding that the whole reform is being prepared to avoid such dangers as the growth of debts and unemployment, stagnation and inflation as much as possible.

The naturally understanding government has been exerting extraordinary activities on the international scene. It tried to turn the great credit Czechoslovakia gained after the November events into a network of ties which connected the country with the most advanced democratic states of the world. Czechoslovakia shall never more be separated from the democratic countries of the world by an iron curtain, the Czechoslovak premier pointed out.

Czechoslovakia's foreign policy is characterized by its initiative for the creation of an European Security commission. A new defensive military doctrine is being intensively prepared. The government defends the interests of the state the expression of which is also the agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country's territory. Czechoslovakia has also asked for the resumption of its membership of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and is striving for close cooperation with the European communities, Marian Calfa said, and pointed to the extremely significant fact that both Europe and the world count with the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic as with a partner state.

Press Comment on Bush-Gorbachev Summit

AU0606224390

[Editorial Report] Several Czech and Slovak newspapers on 4 and 5 June publish commentaries on the U.S.-Soviet summit in Washington.

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 4 June on pages 1 and 2 carries a 1,200-word commentary by "Madelaine Albreight, Washington D.C." (not further identified) entitled "Summit Ended, Problems Remain."

Albright opens the commentary by saying: "The Washington summit which has just ended will be termed 'very successful' because President Bush and President Gorbachev both wish that it be considered very successful. Levelheaded observers, however, will have mixed feelings when evaluating it. Although 15 agreements had been signed, many matters remained unresolved and there are also a few potential traps for both statesmen. The feeling prevails that the Soviet and U.S. statesmen agreed better on how to solve problems of the past rather than on the approach to those that the future will bring."

Even though the documents signed during the summit "represent the largest Soviet-U.S. transaction since the culmination of detente two decades ago," the author believes that "they are not what matters most, because Gorbachev departed for Minnesota and California leaving behind three large question marks—arms control, trade relations, and Germany."

On the issue of arms control, the commentator says that, because of "serious differences of opinion," the conclusion of the START treaty by the end of the year is now unlikely. Likewise, "no breakthrough has been reached in the field of conventional weapons."

Speaking about trade relations, Albreight says that a trade agreement without a most-favored-nation status is "worth only 50 percent and could become a trap for both Gorbachev and Bush." Because the granting of the most-favored-nation status to the Soviet Union "politically, though not legally," depends on what happens to Lithuania, "by concluding the trade agreement, Gorbachev has actually increased pressure on himself." Bush, on the other hand, "has complicated the situation for himself with regard to his proposal to grant the most-favored-nation status to China." Congress, "which was never enthusiastic about this idea anyway," is now even less likely to pass Bush's proposal.

On the question of Germany, the LIDOVE NOVINY commentary says: "Although it is conceivable that more happened at Camp David than was made publicly known, the impression prevails that President Bush did not achieve what he set out to achieve—persuading Mr. Gorbachev that a united Germany in NATO will not be a threat to the Soviet Union." The question of the future united Germany is thus "probably the biggest unanswered question of this summit."

Summing up, Albreight says: "By mid-week, Washington will return to its usual routine; Bush and Gorbachev, however, will have to come to terms with the half-success of this 15th great power summit. When they return to their desks they will discover that they did not achieve as much as they had hoped to. It will be clearer to them that they were more successful in dealing with the problems left behind by the cold war than with those which the new era brings."

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 4 June on page 3 publishes three commentaries on various aspects of the summit. An Ivana Stepankova 700-word commentary on the overall results of the summit states that "it did not bring many specific results, let alone surprises." These were not to be expected, however, because the "complexity of international relations does not permit sudden breakthroughs in relations between Washington and Moscow." A 600-word Milan Vodicka commentary, which is devoted to the discussion of the German question at the summit, notes the summit's failure to achieve any progress on this issue, which is why "the question of Germany will have to be resolved some other time." According to Vodicka, even though the united Germany's membership in NATO "seems to be the only viable solution, even after the summit," Gorbachev cannot afford to give in on this issue: "This political defeat would be connected with Gorbachev's name and that would bode ill for him. Let us not forget that, so far, his failures at home have been balanced out by victories abroad. If he now returned home clobbered—and this is how people would perceive it—the risk could be too high for him and would not be confined just to the loss of popularity." A 400- word Milan Vodicka commentary on the discussion of disarmament issues qualifies the results of the summit as a "slight disappointment," particularly for Europe. This is because the discussion centered on strategic arms and nuclear tests, issues which are of interest to the superpowers, whereas conventional arms, which are Europe's main concern, "remained on the periphery" of interest. The promise to speed up the talks in Vienna was "a bit vague," according to Vodicka.

A 400-word Vaclav Bervida commentary on the summit, published by Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 4 June on page 5, states that the conclusions of the summit were "positive on global problems" (strategic and chemical disarmament), while Europeans have fewer reasons to be satisfied, owing to the lack of progress on the question of Germany. Bervida says that "the impression arises that none of the parties wanted to disrupt the general spirit of the summit by explaining their different positions. From this point of view, Europe, at least a certain part of it, has evidently reason for discontent, unless the matter is moved forward through further negotiations."

Disappointment with the results of the summit is also expressed by the trade union daily Prague PRACE in Czech. In a 600-word Karel Cech commentary on 5 June on page 4, the daily deplores that "there is a snag in each of the key agreements" reached at the summit. The signing of the START agreement, which has been discussed for years, has been delayed and the originally contemplated cut by one-half scaled down; the document on chemical weapons does not foresee their total elimination as originally planned but only a cut in stockpiles to 5,000 tonnes; and the discussion on conventional arms ended "with the vague promise" to conclude the

Vienna talks on their reduction by the end of the year. Cech believes that, unlike the summit of December 1987, which culminated in the signing of the treaty on eliminating intermediate- range missiles, this latest summit "will apparently not go down in history." He also expresses the view that, in contrast to previous summits, this one is not likely to boost Gorbachev's prestige at home because "it is questionable whether the Soviet people, depressed by the steadily growing political and economic chaos in their country, took any interest in the Washington show at all."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 5 June on page 8 carries a 700- word Bedrich Zagar commentary entitled "Summit of Great Significance." Zagar observes that the two presidents displayed a "new approach to the solution of problems, marked by mutual understanding of the interests of the other side." This is, in his opinion, a reason for "new optimism in Soviet-U.S. relations," despite the remaining differences on a number of issues.

Commentator Views United Germany in NATO

LD0506225990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] [Announcer] Mikhail Gorbachev has returned to Moscow from his U.S. trip, during which he met President Bush. Their talks and the agreements signed by them will be remembered by the world in its commentaries for a long time to come. You will be able to hear an extensive radio assessment of the Soviet-U.S. meeting on Radio Czechoslovakia on Thursday [7 June] at 1930 [1730 GMT]. My colleague (Karel Vych) is with me in the studio now. He wishes to concentrate on only one aspect of these talks, one which is very important for us in Czechoslovakia.

[Vych] Should a united Germany, whose unification is no longer doubted by anyone, be a NATO member? The U.S. side believes that this should be the case, while the Soviet side says no. The statesmen Gorbachev and Bush did not reach agreement [on this issue] during the summit. If I attempt to elucidate the U.S. stance, I arrive at the conclusion that for the United States the greatest guarantee against latent German militarism, which has already led to two world wars, is to control it through the NATO. Today it is clear that neither West nor East Germany are preparing for a military conflict. The World War II experiences are, however, of such a dimension that the world simply wants to have a guarantee that in the future the orientation of a united Germany would not be turned in a militaristic direction.

One could say that, for the world, the NATO presence in a united Germany represents today a pronounced guarantee of its peaceful development. It is possible that Mikhail Gorbachev was thinking along these lines, too, when he stated in Washington that other European nations are also interested in this issue. Why then did he not accede to an agreement with his U.S. counterpart? I personally think that it is difficult to admit this truth to the Soviet people, to whom the horrors of the war, the 20 million fallen are still in their memories and where whole generations were fed on the propaganda of the threat of war from West Germany and NATO. After all, this was one of the official reasons for the occupation of our country in 1968.

These things are clearer here in Czechoslovakia. Despite the whole propaganda of the former regime, we know, or we at least have an idea, that the NATO presence in Germany does not represent such a threat. Our worries would probably be greater if a united Germany became neutral. No agreement was reached at the Gorbachev-Bush summit on this matter, but the two sides are of the view that a solution acceptable to all sides should be found. Alternatives do exist. The Soviet Union is proposing to strengthen the Helsinki process of the CSCE and to create the so-called Great European Council. In this general configuration, this proposal is reminiscent of the Czechoslovak initiative to set up a European Security Commission within the framework of the Helsinki process. Another alternative was produced by the French General (Etien Copin), who proposes that a united Germany be only a member of the NATO political section. Other proposals will, without doubt, also appear. In this respect, the U.S.-Soviet summit gives rise to optimism.

USSR Troops To Leave N. Bohemia Beginning Jul

LD0606165190 Prague CTK in English 1553 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 6 (CTK)—The main withdrawal of the Soviet troops from North Bohemia will begin, according to the timetable, in July and August with one half of 18,000 troops scheduled to leave Czechoslovakia.

The second half of the Soviet troops will leave the region by the middle of 1991. During the past ten years Czechoslovakia spent (on the basis of a Soviet-Czechoslovak agreement) more than 100 million crowns on the construction of sewage disposal plants and further equipment in Soviet Army's military regions in the territory of North Bohemia. However, it failed to prevent water from contamination and further damage. It was caused notably by improper storage and repumping of fuels and oil and the manipulation with it. A total of 450 notices of this fact handed in by the citizens met no response. The damage, together with the expenditures on the maintenance of the territory, total 500 million crowns.

Six commissions which evaluate the state of the buildings and the possibilities of their further utilization, have been established by the regional military and billeting administration of the Czechoslovak Army in the City of Litomerice. However, it has not been decided yet, who would own the buildings in the future.

Parties Polled on Apology to Sudeten Germans

LD0606134190 Prague CTK in English 1243 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 6 (CTK)—An absolute majority of the political parties (nine) rejected Czechoslovakia's apology to Sudeten Germans for their transfer in 1945-1947, only three agreed with it and two parties considered it suitable to apologize only for the way the Sudeten Germans had been transferred.

This resulted from a pre-election public inquiry conducted by the youth weekly MLADY SVET which has sent 15 questions to all the 22 political parties, movements and coalitions to all the 22 political parties, movements and coalitions standing for the June 8-9 elections to express their opinion on them. One of the questions was whether they agree or disagree with Czechoslovakia's apology to the Sudeten Germans for their transfer in 1945-1947.

The Greens Party rejected the apology saying that it is not a solution as it will not return lives nor will it compensate for sufferings experienced on both sides. The coalition Free Bloc (Constitutional Democracy Party, Free Democrats' Party, Czechoslovak Neutrality Party, Republican Union) rejected the apology as well, saying that it surely was tragedy but that it was a consequence of a much greater one—the Nazi occupation.

The Slovak Christian Democratic Movement, the Slovak Democratic Party and the Czech Beer Party fully agreed with the apology. The Czechoslovak Understanding Movement and the Czechoslovak Democratic Forum agreed with an apology for the way the Sudeten Germans had been expelled.

A new approach toward this issue was presented by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel in the course of the visit by West German President Richard Von Weizsacker to Prague on March 15, 1990. President Havel rejected collective guilt and criticised the anti-human acts which accompanied the withdrawal of Germans. Vaclav Havel's attitude was supported by the Civic Forum, the Civic Freedom Movement and the Czechoslovak People's Party.

The answers in this public inquiry, which was published by the weekly THIS WEEK, are interesting in view of the 41st Sudeten Germans Days which took place in Munich, Bavarian capital, last weekend. Spokesman for the Sudeten Germans Union Franz Neubauer reiterated the appeal that the signatories to the Potsdam Agreement of 1945 (USA, Soviet Union and Britain) declare invalid an article on the transfer of Germans. He asked the Czechoslovak government to dissociate itself from the post-war decrees of the then Czechoslovak president Edvard Benes which provided for fruition of the decisions made in Potsdam.

GERMAN REUNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *Reportage on German reunification may also be found in the Federal Republic of Germany section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT and pertinent sections of the East Europe JPRS Report. Third country comment is published as available in the appropriate DAILY REPORT or JPRS publication.*

11th People's Chamber Session Opens 7 Jun

Declaration on Tiananamen Square

LD0706085890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0822 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The 11th session of the GDR People's Chamber began in Berlin this morning [7 June]. At the beginning of the debate, the parliament adopted a joint declaration of all parliamentary groups on the events of 3 - 4 June 1989 in the People's Republic of China, which expressed regret for a declaration made by the then People's Chamber on 8 June 1989, which had justified the use of military force against the democracy movement.

The People's Chamber now declares that it remembers the victims with profound mourning. "In order to bring hopes of a positive development of bilateral relations, the People's Chamber of the GDR expects that the government of the People's Republic of China will respect human rights, release political prisoners, and begin dialogue with political dissidents," the declaration says.

The session is to be continued with a debate on the "supply of the people of the GDR with goods for everyday use." A motion from the budget committee on this subject is to be passed on to the committee on trade and tourism. The debate will be followed by a question-answer session.

After the approval of a motion for a resolution from the Interior Affairs Committee on the appointment of a special committee to monitor the dissolution of the Ministry for State Security/Office for National Security, the parliament will have the first reading of a range of tax bills. These include the laws on spirits, tobacco, oil, and sales taxes.

The deputies also have before them a motion from the Council of Ministers on a law on the privatization and reorganization of national property, the so-called trusteeship law. The meeting is to close with motions from the Social Democratic Party parliamentary group on the promotion of sports and the extension of the parliamentary term of judges and jurors.

Before the start, thousands of students gathered outside the entrances to the building and partially blocked them. They demanded measures from the government to guarantee them larger grants as of 1 July.

The 12th meeting of the People's Chamber, at which a series of social laws are to be discussed, will take place tomorrow [8 June].

Student Protesters Block Entrances

LD0706090390 Hamburg DPA in German 0816 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Shortly before the start of the People's Chamber meeting this morning [7 June], several hundred East Berlin students blocked the entrances to the parliament building, calling for a sit-in. Chanting, they demanded a meeting with GDR Finance Minister Walter Romberg (Social Democratic Party) on the subject of student grants. Grants amounting to some 200 Deutsch Marks, promised after the currency union enters into force, are too low in the students' opinion. They are demanding a basic grant of DM500.

Committee on Stasi Appointed

LD0706124990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1130 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The People's Chamber decided today on the formation of a special committee to monitor the dissolution of the Stasi. It will consist of eleven representatives of parliamentary groups, who are to examine in particular the execution of the 16 May 1990 resolution of the Council of Ministers on this subject. Those responsible parties named in the resolution of the Council of Ministers are obliged "to give the special committee all the information necessary for its work and to make available any documents it demands."

The body appointed by the People's Chamber is also empowered "to include expert representatives of citizens' committees in an advisory capacity."

The People's Chamber special committee, which can also conduct hearings, will submit an interim report before the summer recess.

This resolution incorporates a motion from the Liberal group that the special committee should instigate additional investigations. They concern "events in the Waldheim psychiatric clinic," the "planned creation of internment camps for opposition figures and dissidents" by the Stasi, as well as "events in the Soviet internment camps on German soil after World War II." The amendment moved by the Party of Democratic Socialism on the internment camps "insofar as this relates to the responsibility of the former Ministry of State Security" was rejected by a majority of deputies.

Cabinet Discusses Commission on Party Assets

LD0606133590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1244 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The commission for the registration, trusteeship, and control of party assets, to be appointed by the GDR premier, is to comprise 10 members and a chairman. The deputy government spokesman, Angela Merkel, announced this today [6 June] at the traditional news conference after the cabinet meeting.

It was decided that the commission is to comprise one representative from each of the seven People's Chamber parliamentary groups and three independent members from banking and finance. Several foreign accountant firms have promised the commission their support. The government spokesman did not give the name of the chairman of the commission.

In the usual discussion of the present situation, the cabinet, headed by Premier Lothar de Maiziere, dealt with the Bush-Gorbachev summit, the premier's visit to Brussels, and the supply situation in the GDR. It was noted that the situation in many shops, in particular in most department stores, is bad. Smaller shops, which are clearly more flexible, are doing better. It was observed that, with a view to 1 July, enterprises are running down their reserves and stocks "to zero," something which calls for administrative action.

The spokeswoman announced that the cabinet approved a series of bills from the Justice Ministry, such as the sixth law amending the criminal law, an amendment and supplement to the law on the legal constitution, and an amendment relating to the public prosecutor's office, all of which should contribute to the further democratization of the legal system.

Official Describes Current Situation in GDR

LD0606211790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1944 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—What is happening in the GDR at present is the creation of the biggest bankruptcy in world history, Klaus Reichenbach, minister in the office of the GDR premier, told the Bonn daily DIE WELT today. In an interview, he formulated the government's standpoint as follows: "Cries are reaching us from all over the GDR asking us how things can go on—everything is stagnating. An operation is necessary. The sick have to be amputated so that the healthy can survive. We have to allow the 25 percent of enterprises which cannot survive to crash. Every penny spent on them would be squandered money which could help other enterprises make it."

Decision on Security Service Pensions Expected

LD0606152990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1319 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The legality of high pensions and other special arrangements for members of the former State Security Service is currently being reviewed by a government commission, Minister Dr. Regine Hildebrandt announced at a government news conference. In reply to a question, she spoke in favor of a "drastic reduction" of these unjustified privileges. A decision on this by the GDR Government is expected next week.

Deputy government spokesperson Angela Merkel pointed out that the basis for these privileges was a decision by the Modrow government. She also rejected an allegation broadcast in the ARD program "Monitor" that a decision on further tasks and measures in order to disband the MfS/AFNS [Ministry of State Security/ Office for National Security] taken by the present government on May 16 had been kept secret. This decision was announced in the same way as other results of cabinet meetings.

Minister Hildebrandt firmly rejected rumors that the special pensions for victims of fascism are to be abolished. "This is completely unfounded." There will only be a slight modification.

Court Rehabilitation Proceedings Expected

AU0606132190 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Jun 90 p 2

[ADN report: "600 Rehabilitation Proceedings"]

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—GDR courts will be faced with a large number of proceedings aimed at making void previous convictions. Since the political change in November 1989, between 400 and 600 proceedings of this type have been suggested on the basis of court examinations, on the initiative of the Chief Public Prosecutor's office of the Supreme Court, convicts, and third parties, Supreme Court Press Spokesman Guenter Waldmann said. These proceedings will result in people being rehabilitated, who were wrongfully convicted in political lawsuits during the past 40 years So far, the Supreme Court Presidium has resolved to authorize 51 proceedings of this sort. Eight of them have already taken place. [passage omitted]

Diestel Wants New Foreigners' Law

AU0606223890 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 6 Jun 90 p 6

[Heribert Prantl report: "Initiative of the GDR Interior Minister; Diestel Wants New Foreigners' Law"]

[Text] Munich—GDR Interior Minister Diestel wants to push through a law on the immigration and residence of foreigners. A draft law on foreigners, which is almost identical to the controversial text that was recently adopted in the FRG, was presented in the East Berlin Interior Ministry a few days ago. Only the regulations concerning facilitated naturalization are missing.

Diestel's fast advance is apparently also aimed against GDR Foreigners' Commissioner State Secretary Almuth Berger. Mrs. Berger, who is directly assigned to Premier de Maiziere, established a German-German working group to draft a separate GDR foreigners' law. The regulations of this draft should at least be introduced as basic values into the negotiations with the FRG on the harmonization of legislation. Therefore, this working group is talking of a surprise attack by Diestel.

At present, 58,400 workers from Vietnam, 15,100 from Mozambique, 8,000 from Cuba, 6,400 from Poland, and 1,300 from Angola are employed in the GDR. On the

whole, approximately 190,000 foreigners are living in the GDR. The "foreign working people" are employed in the GDR on the basis of government agreements with their homelands. These agreements refer to "delegations" by the individual governments involved.

Now the GDR seeks to detach as many foreign employees as possible from the government agreements and induce them to go back if their further employment cannot be guaranteed by individual contracts. Of course, the prospects for such further employment are poor. According to a government paper acquired by SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, numerous enterprises have started to "illegally terminate" employment "unilaterally." The reasons for this can also be read in the government paper: "Enterprise managements and entire workers' collectives are arguing that the employment of foreign employees is too expensive and thus is a burden that cannot be carried any longer," and that "in view of increasing unemployment, foreign working people cannot be employed any longer." Therefore, "decisive actions are urgently required," the government paper says.

Apparently, Diestel's lightning initiative, which wants to adopt the FRG foreigners' law, is also aimed against the attempts of the foreigners' commissioner to make the transition period for foreign employees in the GDR socially endurable. At any rate, Diestel used the absence of the foreigners' commissioner, who has to negotiate with the governments of Vietnam, Mozambique, and Angola on the future of the foreigners in the GDR, for his advance. The guidelines given to Mrs. Berger on how to proceed are anyway rather rigid. She is "to change all definitions that result in high economic burdens for the enterprises." All existing agreements are to expire by the end of the year, new immigration should not take place, and previous benefits are to be immediately canceled. Compensation payments to the homelands are intended to induce many foreigners to return home. For example, before the end of the year, compensation payments for Vietnam of up to 57.4 million Deutsche marks, next year of up to 104.8 million, and in 1992 of up to 146.6 million are planned.

"For compelling reasons," a government decree draft provides for the premature termination of the employment of foreigners working in the GDR because of agreements. The "conversion of production" as well as "increasing the profitability" of an enterprise are regarded as compelling reasons.

Diestel Rejects 'Monitor' TV Program Allegations

LD0606163590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1522 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Dr. Peter-Michael Diestel (German Social Union), deputy prime minister and interior minister, has described the First German Television program "Monitor" aired yesterday evening as a deliberate attempt to discredit him through inaccurate statements and half-truths. The program attacked the policies pursued by Diestel and, therefore, by the entire cabinet, and made assertions that were in part untrue and that failed to reflect known facts, states a press release conveyed to ADN today by the Interior Ministry.

With regard to Stasi pensions, Minister Diestel already took the initiative quite a while ago in the cabinet. The minister said he regarded each month in which the quite unjustifiably high pensions were paid to the former Stasi thugs as inappropriate. "Monitor" suppressed the facts even though the responsible editor was given the essential press information. [passage omitted]

PDS Plans To Appeal Over Assets Seizure

LD0706075390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2245 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Vienna (ADN correspondent]—The Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS] intends to appeal to the international public while resisting the expropriation of its assets and to ask for donations. PDS Chairman Gregor Gysi announced this in Vienna this evening at an Austrian Communist Party forum. However, the party, which still has 450,000 members, intends to fight the implementation of the People's Chamber decision, which aims to liquidate the PDS before German unification occurs, by "recourse to a state based on the rule of law," Gysi said. The approach of the governing parties does, however, have its "limits" Therefore, they will only allow the Karl-Liebknecht building, which belonged to the Communist Party of Germany [KPD] before 1933 and is now party headquarters, "to be taken away by force."

In this context Gysi assured that meanwhile there is no more hard-currency income. "All of these ropes have been cut," he stated.

Former SED Leaders Undergoing Medical Exams

LD0506124190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1126 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Former members of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Politburo and government are presently staying at the hospital of the People's Police in Berlin. In reply to inquiries, the press and information office of the Interior Ministry announced today that this is for a limited period of time. Its only purpose is the examination and assessment of the persons following an order by the General State Prosecutor's Office. For this purpose, the health and social services minister, Professor Dr. Juergen Kleditzsch, has appointed an independent group of experts. Long-term treatment in the police hospital is not planned, the Interior Ministry announced.

According to a report published last week in the BILD newspaper, those concerned are Erich Honecker, Margot Honecker, Erich Mielke, Willi Stoph, Hermann Axen, Harry Tisch, Werner Krolikowski, and Gerald Goetting.

Unemployment Figure Tops 100,000

LD0506143490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1130 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Unemployment in the GDR has risen since last week by 6,579: from 94,807 to over 100,000. Labor and Social Affairs Minister Regine Hildebrandt announced at a news conference in Berlin today [5 June] that the number of skilled workers involved—at around 53,656—is unexpectedly high. The unemployment figure included 26,046 unskilled and semiskilled workers and around 14,000 university and technical college graduates. The minister put the figure of unemployed young people and severely handicapped at 15,000 and 1,368 respectively.

The number of job vacancies fell to 54,284. Mrs. Hildebrandt described this development as very dynamic. [passage omitted]

Businessmen Protest Economic, Currency Union

LD0606153690 Hamburg DPA in German 1413 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA/VWD)—Businessmen in the GDR plan to strike to protest the negative effects of economic and currency union. "This summer, about 50 percent of the small factories will not survive," said Klaus Noack, president of the Association of Self-Employed [Bund der Selbstaendigen], in East Berlin on Wednesday [6 June]. "This means a loss of about 350,000 jobs." His association agreed with the Employers Association and the Chamber of Industry and Commerce of the GDR on a joint approach against the "anti-medium-size industry policy of the government."

Representatives of the businessmen announced that on 12 June there will be a strike in the retail businesses on the island of Ruegen. The medium-sized businessmen withdrew their announcement that they would stage a token strike in Berlin this Thursday and on the island of Ruegen. If however, the government continues to ignore their warnings, there will be further actions, Noack said. "Up to now, the small businesses have been the worst-prepared for the social market economy." Thus, with their poor supplies of capital they scarcely have any chance of obtaining land and property beginning 1 July. Instead, there will be a "sell-out to prosperous Western property developers." Rudolf Stadermann, chairman of the Employers Association, demanded "preferential prices for GDR citizens." [passage omitted]

GDR's DFF To Cease Operation

LD0606191190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1603 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—[East] German television [DFF] believes there is no longer any possibility of existing as a third public broadcasting station in a united Germany. This is the result of a crisis meeting between the management and works council, about which ADN learned today from three spokesmen. The new model envisages a "multiple-regional station," under whatever name, on present GDR territory, which will take into account federal structures.

"The existing structures will thus cease. Like the ARD model, DFF will then be able to ensure the provision of basic information as a comprehensive service and among other things provide its studios for production purposes. Five regional studios with regional programs will be linked to it and will have a free hand in determining questions of content," said press spokesman Holm Freier. The DFF television programmers do not want annexation, but a merging in the all-European media configuration so that freedom of the media and diversity will not be compromised. They hope for a readiness for dialogue and receptiveness to new models from the FRG stations.

A decisive role in this decision was played by the media paper published a few days ago by the Christian Social Union (West) and the alliance partners of the GDR, which called for the dissolution of the DFF as an "old burden from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany regime," and following similar remarks by Federal Minister of Post Schwarz-Schilling and the appointment of the new DFF director Gero Hammer. The latter has not so far spoken with the television employees. The 7,500 or so television employees assume that he is to serve as "trustee." A protest against his appointment was submitted to Media Minister Mueller last Friday. The appointment is legally incontestable, but the television employees have considerable doubts, said Freier "as to whether Hammer is suited, as a successful representative of socialist theater policies and a long-standing People's Chamber member, to lead the process of democratization in the DFF to its conclusion in a credible way."

Magdeburg Districts To Enjoy Development Program

LD0506121490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0851 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Magdeburg (ADN)—An economic development program, to be financed equally by the GDR and the FRG, is to help seven districts [kreise] near the border in Magdeburg area [Bezirk] to develop growth supporting structures and to compensate for location disadvantages. The program provides for 73.5 million Deutshe marks to be invested into the preparation of 218 hectares of industrial and business area, which will create some 3,600 jobs. [passage omitted]

Pharmaceuticals Donated to Palestinians

AU0606125290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2-3 Jun 90 p 3

[ADN/ND report: "Donation of Pharmaceuticals to Palestinians"]

[Text] East Berlin—A shipment of pharmaceuticals, which has been financed from the donations of GDR citizens, has been handed over to 33 medical centers and bases of the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) in the areas of Jerusalem, Hebron, Nablus, and Jericho. The GDR Solidarity Committee learned about this from the UN organization.

Defense Minister Fur Receives Pact's Lobov

LD0506211890 Budapest MTI in English 1714 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 5 (MTI)—Minister of Defence Lajos Fuer on Tuesday met in his office Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of staff of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states, who arrived in Hungary in the morning hours on Tuesday [5 June].

Discussions were held about preparations for the next session of the committee of defence ministers, to be held in mid-June in Berlin, following the session of the Political Consultative Committee to be held in Moscow.

Present at the discussion was Erno Raffay, political secretary of state of the Ministry of Defence, Lieutenant General Laszlo Borsits, chief of staff of the Hungarian Army, Brigadier General Antal Annus, general deputy of the chief of staff, and Army General Fedot Krivda, representative in Hungary of the chief of staff of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

Army General Lobov and his party left Budapest in the afternoon hours.

Fur Receives Soviet Army Group Chief

LD0506212190 Budapest MTI in English 1716 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 5 (MTI)—Minister of Defence Lajos Fur on Tuesday [5 June] met Colonel General Matvey Burlakov, commander of the Soviet Southern Army Group temporarily stationed in Hungary.

Also present at the meeting were Lieutenant General Kalman Lorincz, commander of the Hungarian Army, and Lieutenant General Laszlo Borsits, chief of staff.

Antall on Upcoming Pact Meeting

AU0706113090 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Jun 90 p 4

[Interview with Premier Jozsef Antall by Lajos Pogonyi; place and date not given: "We Do Not Have Revisionist Goals"]

[Text] [Pogonyi] Mr. Antall, will you participate in the upcoming summit of the Warsaw Pact member states scheduled in Moscow on 7 June? What will you say about Hungary's intention to withdraw from this organization?

[Antall] I will participate in the meeting along with interim President Arpad Goncz, Defense Minister Lajos Fur, and Ferenc Somogyi, state secretary at the Foreign Ministry. In connection with our concepts of withdrawing from the Warsaw Pact, I will say that which is based on the government program and the current positions of the National Assembly. Obviously, Mr. Gorbachev's report on the Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington will be one of the subjects on the agenda of this meeting.

[Pogonyi] Have you already consulted with the other Warsaw Pact member states on Hungary's withdrawal plans?

[Antall] We have not yet held concrete official talks. I held an informational meeting with GDR Premier De Maiziere on this issue.

[Pogonyi] In your speech at the national conference of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], you said that you wanted to be the premier of 15 million Hungarians, in spirit. Would you give us some details on this?

[Antall] My declaration does not contain any kind of so-called revisionist goals. I simply wanted to say that I consider the fate and problems of the Hungarian minority to be my own problem. In other words, all that I said should be interpreted in a spiritual and emotional aspect, and not in a legal aspect. The Hungarian nation represents a spiritual and cultural community, including the Hungarians living in the neighboring countries, or those who emigrated in the past decades.

[Pogonyi] Do you not think that the aforementioned declaration could be misinterpreted in certain neighboring countries, because all this was said on the 70th anniversary of the signing of the Trianon Peace Treaty?

[Antall] One cannot misinterpret what I said. We accepted the Helsinki Document and nobody has the right to change the borders by force, and nobody can strive for this. I stress again that we feel a moral responsibility for the Hungarians living beyond our borders, for their human rights and cultural endeavors.

Premier Antall Views Future of Warsaw Pact

News Conference on Holkeri Visit, Pact

LD0606145190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] The Finnish and Hungarian premiers held a joint news conference this afternoon [6 June]. Agota Narancsik reports:

[Begin Narancsik recording] It would be desirable for the Warsaw Pact military organization to be dissolved by the end of 1991, Joszef Antall said at the news conference he held jointly this afternoon with Finnish Premier Harri Holkeri. A few hours before his journey to Moscow, the Hungarian premier summed up his ideas concerning the future of the organization. At this moment, he said, one of government's most urgent tasks is to compile a list of the elements of the Warsaw Pact which violate the sovereignty of the member states and which carry the possibility of confrontation, so that these might be eliminated from the activity of the organization.

Joszef Antall and Harri Holkeri also evaluated the results of the Finnish premier's three-day official visit and the two countries' relations. The Finnish premier especially underlined the significance of the talks he conducted on

the situation of the minorities, emphasizing that a resolution of the nationality problems is one of the most important conditions for the emergence of a cultured Europe. [end recording]

Further on News Conference

LD0606173690 Budapest MTI in English 1610 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 6 (MTI)—Finnish Premier Harri Holkeri, the first high-ranking politician to meet with the new Hungarian Government, concluded his Hungarian programme with an international press conference held in Budapest on June 6.

He began with giving an account of his talks with Prime Minister Joszef Antall, pointing to the deep interest the Hungarian leadership appeared to have in the independent Finnish foreign and economic policy.

He said that the neutrality of his country was not influenced or downgraded by the approach between the great powers or the hitherto favourable progress of the army control talks.

Mr. Antall said that Finland's achievements during the past 15-20 years, particularly its sucessful march into the ranks of the international elite, should be taken as a model by Hungary and the entire Central and East European region.

Hungary, said Mr. Antall, wishes to cooperate with Finland both in the economic and foreign political spheres.

"Hungary also wants to maintain good-neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union, but not through copying the Finnish-Soviet agreements or adopting its model. [no closing quotation mark as received]

The (?Hungarian) prime minister is to leave for Moscow shortly after the press conference to take part in the Warsaw Treaty [WT] summit. He had the following to say on his imminent visit:

He would say on behalf the Hungarian Government that the Warsaw Treaty, as the organization of European confrontation, was an obsolete system which had lost its function. Therefore, the Hungarian Government is of the position that the Warsaw Treaty military organization should be dismissed, and considers it desirable to wind it up by late 1991.

Under the Hungarian foreign political strategy, the organization should be replaced by a new European security system which would guarantee the security of the countries in the region.

"What is required," he said, "is a consultative mechanism which would make for Hungary's closer affiliation to European institutions [no closing-quotation mark as received]

At far as the relations between Hungary and the Warsaw Treaty are concerned, the Hungarian people has made its intention manifest in the declaration of 1956.

This should, however, be reviewed today with respect to international legal and diplomatic, military and political considerations.

At the Moscow conference of the prime ministers of WT member states, the Hungarian prime minister will propose setting up a list of the elements in the WT cooperation that infringe upon the sovereignty of the member states. These points should be discharged (?from the WT operational mechanism.)

Answering a question, Mr. Antall listed some of the elements he had in mind, such as the Hungarian Army's employment within our borders or in the territory of other countries, the presence of other armies in Hungarian territory, the issue of the highest army leadership, or the Hungarian Army's role in the country's defence.

Hungary should never be a means or venue of the advance of Soviet troops.

The government is to restore its full sovereignty over the Hungarian Army. This should not invosed, any interruption of links with the other WT member countries.

Bilateral Hungarian-Soviet agreements should be renegotiated, as they were signed by sides occupying unequal positions of negotiation.

The new Hungarian Government wishes to set up relations with the Soviet Union based on mutual appreciation, trust and equality of rights, said the prime minister.

Jeszenszky Discusses Warsaw Pact, Minority Issue

LD0606150190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Report on interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by unidentified AFP correspondent; place and date not given]

[Text] Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky gave an interview to AFP about the Warsaw Pact and the ethnic Hungarian minorities living outside Hungary.

In light of the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, the creation of a European security system is the best alternative for the Soviet Union. Geza Jeszenszky, in a statement to AFP, admitted at the same time that the Soviet Union is justifiably worried about its own security. As he said, at the Warsaw Pact summit which is to start tomorrow, Hungary will state its opinion clearly on the alliance.

Jeszenszky recalled that Hungary needs to be cautious and realistic in its relations with the Soviet Union because Hungary depends on it economically, and this cannot be changed immediately. It is important for Hungary to nurture economic relations with the Soviet Union, but it must expand its links with the West, too, in order to avoid depending on one single country.

In the foreign minister's view, France can extend great help in the improvement of the situation of the ethnic

Magyars in Romania, because Bucharest listens to Paris'opinion. In the light of the danger of increasing incomprehension, the key to the problems of the Magyar minorities living in neighboring countries is in the hands of the Western countries, Geza Jeszensky believes.

Assembly Groups Discuss State Security, Pact

LD0606175790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] The National Security Committee of the National Assembly held a closed session today. Despite this, Tibor Holleuer has important information for you. He also attended the Foreign Affairs Committee session.

[Holleauer] To prevent terrorism, there is still a need to use all means, including secret methods, for state security work, said Gabor Demszky, chairman of the committee, following the reports by Kalman Kulcar and Istvan Balsai, the past and present justice ministers, which were delivered behind closed doors. Gabor Demszky did not disclose how often the experts at the State Security Office carry out phone tapping, apartment bugging, letter opening, or secretly enter dwellings. However, he did say that there is not a single political case among these. Gabor Demszky promised that if a certain criminal file is closed for good, the obligation for secrecy will be lifted and the details will be disclosed to the public.

The Foreign Affairs Committee also held a session this afternoon.

The only point on the agenda was the resolution proposed by the Alliance of Free Democrats to the National Assembly dealing with relations between our country and the Warsaw Pact. As you know, the National Assembly forwarded the proposal to three committees to report on. One of these is the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Following a lengthy debate, the deputies decided to ask the government to start negotiations with every Warsaw Pact member state about our leaving the Pact and at the same time no joint exercise should be carried out on our country's territory during these negotiations, and Hungarian troops should not be under the joint command of the organization any longer. At the initiative of the representatives from the Federation of Young Democrats the text did not include the clause that Hungary will not join any other military block. At the special request of Gyula Horn, chairman of the committee, a paragraph was inserted which asks the government to consider the military-political, state security, and economic implications of leaving. The final text proposed by the Foreign Affairs Committee will be compiled by an editorial committee made up of members of six parties during the week.

Committee Urges Withdrawal From Pact

LD0606183790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] The National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee proposes that the Hungarian Government begin talks as soon as possible on suspending cooperation with the military organization of the Warsaw Pact. The body recommends that the sides should attain this objective through joint agreement. The parliamentary parties envisage withdrawal from the Warsaw pact in two phases; they urge, first, the soonest possible suspension of activity in the military organization, and then the final withdrawal. According to the Foreign Affairs Committee, the basis for negotiations could be the Vienna convention, which declares that any member country can initiate a withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact, on the basis of mutual negotiations.

Change in Role of Superpowers Seen After Summit

AU0706092390 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 5 Jun 90 p 5

[Pal Bokor editorial: "A Slip of the Tongue"]

[Text] The President of the United States was speaking about the German question when he said the following sentence: "Our opinion differs from the opinions of the Soviet Union and other allies of ours." This statement, made at the news conference on 3 June, could naturally be only a slip of the tongue. Bush would not be able to accept the Soviet Union as an "ally" even if he wanted to. However, in Freudian interpretation, a slip of the tongue is not a blunder, and there is no need for psychoanalytical tests to conclude that the Soviet-U.S. relations today present a totally different image than at any other time. The link between this change and the Soviet domestic restructuring and the changes in Europe is also well known.

The President's slip of the tongue does not mean that from now on the United States and the Soviet Union are allies. It only means that a system of balance, confidence, and cooperation has replaced the system of competition, obtaining advantages, and confrontation.

Public opinion believes that these changes are to the personal credit of Gorbachev. The Washington program had an almost imperceptible episode. Gorbachev was granted decorations simultaneously from five U.S. humanitarian and peace organizations, including the Albert Einstein Peace Medal and the rank of "Historical Figure," and a lot of other decorations expressing the admiration of the Americans for this politician of noble intentions and admirable deeds. However, Gorbachev's charisma alone does not explain the change in Soviet-U.S. relations.

After the essentially unexpected bilateral trade agreement, one can say about the summit in Washington that it was extremely successful, at least from Gorbachev's viewpoint; and it again seems that this is to the personal credit of the great Mikhail. However, if we leave the personal moments out and "peel" off the agreements signed in Washington, we will see that the fruit has too much juice. Except for the agreement on the elimination of chemical weapons, the other documents signed contain only promises. Further analysis also shows that the central line of action of the performance in Washington was the future of the Soviet Union, and not nuclear

disarmament or the German question. Not the future of Gorbachev, but the future of the Soviet Union!

Naturally, the two things, the man and his work, are one, and many people thought that the President was aiming at keeping great Mikhail in power when, accepting the reservations of Congress, George Bush signed the trade agreement. This gesture can again cast Gorbachev in the light of a victorious statesman and talented economic leader in the eyes of the Russian masses on the brink of starvation.

Washington needs Gorbachev very much indeed. But even more, it needs a stable and uniform Soviet Union that also preserves its superpower status. Naturally, the White House cannot afford the kind of "mischief" like that done by Gorbachev on Soviet television, when he compared the current exchange of views on the German question with the cooperation of anti-Hitlerite powers in World War II. Besides, it is a simplification to say that Washington and Moscow are trying to cooperate out of their fear of the new Germany. From a military viewpoint, this is not true at all; from a political and economic viewpoint, it is only indirectly true.

The U.S. Administration has the ability to think in perspective, and, if Bush and his analysts look beyond the end of our century, they will see generally valid realities, like a uniform Europe or a new Europe made up of rival economic interest groups of great individual power. Japan is not prepared to give up the struggle for the redistribution of world markets either, and new players might appear from Southeast Asia to Brazil. A democratic Soviet Union cleansed of bureaucracy is also important as a market in this context, but it is almost essential as a political partner.

It was much easier for Bush and Gorbachev to perform miracles in Washington in clearing bilateral problems than in discussing Germany, Europe, or other regional subjects. In other words, it seems that the two superpowers are no longer such big superpowers as before. Naturally, those in question would not admit this, and tried to prove the opposite. Bush spoke of the "special responsibility" of the two countries, and Gorbachev warned anyone against treating either one of them as a power outside Europe.

Neither the Soviet Union nor the United States are looking at the world today from the same position of power as 30 years, or even five years ago, when a military and economic omnipotent world power was competing with another world power controlling half of Europe militarily and politically. Partnership is now replacing this competition and confrontation. Not because Gorbachev's real values as a politician and human values have overcome the "damned spirit of cold war." Persons change, and this can apply to the Soviet leader now after the election of Yeltsin, when Gorbachev is in an even more difficult situation. However, the fledgling renaissance of Soviet-U.S. cooperation is a political emergency measure, and not a diplomatic achievement. If Washington were to allow the Soviet Union to disappear as a world power through the trapdoor of history now, this would mean recognition of the fact that nuclear superiority is no longer enough to preserve the status of superpower in the last decade of our century. However, Washington is still far from admitting this. Instead of this, it is better to come to an agreement with the Soviet Union.

Thus, Gorbachev, who arrived in Washington as an adversary with rather weak armor, could play the role of an equal side in this new partnership and he made use of all the advantages of this mutual dependence. Although the United States can do something for the survival of the Soviet empire, the future of the Union will not be decided in Washington. Moreover, this summit provided the first sign of the fact that neither Washington nor Moscow holds the fate of the world any longer.

Antall on Coalition Government, United Europe

LD0606151590 Budapest MTI in English
1219 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 6 (MTI)—"I am a liberal Christian-Democrat of national commitment who believes in a united Europe," said Joszef Antall, Hungarian Prime Minister, in an interview carried by the Wednesday issue of MAGYAR NEMZET.

Mr. Antall adds he joined the Hungarian Democratic Forum because he felt it incorporated the above-mentioned political ideals.

In connection with his function as a prime minister, he said he was aware how risky and monstrously difficult the role he had undertaken was, with how real a danger of failure involved. He, however, was ready to undertake the risk, for he thought that "when the conditions of government are created, then it will be possible to lead Hungary out of the present crisis once and for all."

Mr. Antall says that in the wake of the elections he tried to set up a coalition which would be able to take over the government as a center. He thought it was not sensible to form a big coalition (with perhaps the largest opposition party, the AFD [SZDSZ - Alliance of Free Democrats]. Although it would have been more convenient for the government, he felt that it would be better for Hungary to establish a fair parliamentary system in the framework of a bipolar policy and parallel to the activity of a responsible and constructive opposition.

He said the agreement with the AFD after the coalition agreements was to serve the above purpose of making way for an efficient parliament.

He said that in other countries, the opposition which had taken over the government had experience in at least the parliamentary work if not the governmental.

In Hungary, however, the change of system gave mandate to MPs who had not held any political or public office before and also lacked the experience of a parliamentary opposition.

So, at the moment, even the MPs that were on the side of the government party had opposition reflexes in parliament.

Mr. Antall says now the country is headed by a government which is not backed by professional parties that have their infrastructure in the West European sense. Neither is the parliamentary opposition at that.

At the same time, the other side has its active interest associations. In Hungary we can find a specifically provincial version of the industrial-military complex, in the Eisenhowerian sense, which could easily put up resistance to the government.

Mr. Antall says that the major economic positions are in the hands of interest associations that are not interested in a change. In the process of privatizing state property, they either acted as a brake or tended to push the process out of control.

To make things worse, the requirement of a normal society, the triple relation between employees, employer, and state, is also totally deformed in Hungary.

Hungary can rely on support from the West and political toleration from the Soviet Union. Needless to say, both Western support and Soviet tolerance have their exact boundaries. This is the basic question of Hungarian foreign and economic policies, says Mr. Antall.

He also says that if the Soviet Union follows its current political course, then it will be bound to recognize the increasing independence of peoples in Eastern and Central Europe and the drop in Soviet influence in the region.

There is one thing, however, which the Soviet Union will certainly not accept: Setting up an futile political zone on its borders.

Hungary should pursue a policy which would make for its withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact. This is one of the Hungarian people's fundamental objectives. This should be relativized via negotiations and in the framework of a European security system.

Neither should Hungary's fundamental links to the Soviet economy, particularly energetics, basic materials and market, be dismissed.

Mr. Antall also mentions the fact that the Soviet leadership has several times expressed their good will via Ambassador Stukalin.

He thinks that during the imminent Warsaw Treaty summit, he would have an opportunity to have a meeting with Mr Gorbachev.

Hungary's fundamental aim is to join the united Europe. This also involves membership in the Council of Europe in the first step, followed by a bilateral association with the Common Market, our chances of which are quite good. In 1992, genuine talks could be launched on admission, says Mr. Antall.

He adds that after the CEMA's dissolution, member countries should continue cooperation. It seems feasible to coordinate Polish, Czechoslovak and Hungarian interests and form a joint position. The other alternative is an Alps-Adriatic regional cooperation.

When we set out to create unity in Europe, we can rely on support from Germany and France, England and Italy, says Mr. Antall, adding "the ideas on European integration should not confront the Atlantic ideal which was launched not by the NATO, but has been part of European thinking almost since the 16th Century."

"Hungary needs a versatile foreign policy and thinking in terms of a multipolar world political system, as the era of bipolar world politics is nearing its end. And this is a hopeful sign for Hungary, I think" said Mr. Joszef Antall.

Council of Europe Movement Established

LD0506220690 Budapest MTI in English 1948 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 5 (MTI)—The Hungarian Council of the Europe Movement was set up in Budapest on Tuesday [5 June].

Prime Minister Joszef Antall, who is the vice-president of the international movement, delivered a speech at the founding session, held in the Lorand Eotvos University of Arts and Sciences in Budapest.

Participants elected Domokos Kosary, president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, president of the Council, and lawyer Gyorgy Antall as general secretary.

The General Assembly elected Prime Minister Jozsef Antall honorary president of the Hungarian Council of the Europe Movement.

The International Europe Movement was founded in The Hague in 1948, on the initiative of Winston Churchill, with the participation of social organizations committed to European integration.

In answer to a question by MTI, Mr. Gyorgy Antall said he is not only a namesake of the prime minister, but his son.

Szuros Leaves for Council of Europe Session

LD0606121490 Budapest MTI in English 0952 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 6 (MTI)—Heading a Hungarian delegation, Matyas Szuros, acting speaker of Parliament, left for Brussels on Wednesday [6 June] morning, to attend the conference of parliamentary speakers of the Council of Europe's member states.

Discussions Begin With FRG Parliamentarians

LD0506182790 Budapest MTI in English 0946 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 5 (MTI)—Parliamentary discussions started between Hungary and the Federal Republic of Germany in the parliament building on Tuesday [5 June].

Exchanges between Gyorgy Szabad, acting speaker of parliament and Mme. Suessmueth, president of the Bundestag, who arrived to Budapest late on Monday evening will focus primarily on the strengthening of relations between legislative bodies of the two countries. During her three-day visit, Mme. Suessmueth and her entourage will be informed about the activity of the Hungarian parliament and they are also due to meet with leaders of the various parliamentary groups.

During the day, the West German visitors are scheduled to meet with Arpad Goncz, interim president of the republic, speaker of parliament, and they are likely to hold talks with Prime Minister Antall as well. Results of the visit will be summd up at an afternoon press conference by Mme. Suessmuth and Mr. Szabad.

News Conference on Talks

LD0506221190 Budapest MTI in English 1951 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 5 (MTI)—Our talks in Budapest have been successful so far, said Rita Suessmueth, president of the FRG Bundestag, and Gyorgy Szabad, acting speaker of parliament, at a press conference held in Budapest on Tuesday.

Frau Suessmueth, who arrived in Budapest on Monday evening, said the aim of the visit was for the Bundestag to lend assistance to the freely elected new Hungarian parliament in this manner, too. Representatives of the FRG legislative body expressed their gratitude for the activity with which Hungary promoted the unification efforts of the two Germanies, by opening its borders.

Mr. Szabad said the president of the Bundestag was appreciative of the situation of the German minority in Hungary.

Meeting With Goncz, Antall

LD0606220990 Budapest MTI in English 2011 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 5 (MTI)—A delegation of the FRG Bundestag is in Hungary for a one and a half day visit. The delegation is headed by Rita Suessmueth, president of the Bundestag.

Leaders of the FRG legislature arrived in Budapest late on Monday evening, meeting an invitation from Gyorgy Szabad, acting speaker of the Hungarian National Assembly.

On Tuesday, Frau Suessmueth and Mr. Szabad held talks in parliament building, also received the Bundestag president. Andras Farago, head of parliament's press office, informed MTI about the discussion:

Frau Suessmueth said a decision had been reached by the Bundestag Presidium to establish contacts with the new Hungarian parliament at the earliest possible date. This, she said, also indicates that the FRG follows the Hungarian changes with great sympathy.

Mr. Szabad said relations could mainly be developed through contacts between the parliamentary committees, and the local self-governmental bodies to be elected and the provinces.

Discussions were held about the Warsaw Treaty at the meeting between Mr. Goncz and Frau Suessmueth. According to Mr. Goncz, it is, by today, unnecessary to maintain the organization which has become militarily inoperative. He noted that the Armies of the Warsaw Treaty pose a great burden also for the Soviet Union. Mr. Goncz informed his negotiating partner that the number of the Hungarian Armed Forces will be reduced by 35 per cent. However, Hungary invariably counts on the Soviet Union with respect to weapons replacements.

Mr. Concz said he will hold talks with President Gorbachev on the occasion of his forthcoming visit to Moscow. However, Mr. Goncz stressed Hungary does not wish to unilaterally withdraw from the Pact.

In the afternoon, the president of the FRG Bundestag met Prime Minister Joszef Antall. Discussions included the unification process of the two German states, and an exchange was held about the relations between Hungary and Europe, and Hungary's role in the Warsaw Treaty, its relations towards the Soviet Union.

AFD's Kis Favors Unified Germany in NATO

LD0706084790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0307 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Janos Kis, chairman of Hungary's Alliance of Free Democrats [AFD], has come out in favor of NATO membership for a united Germany. In an interview published in the newspaper DER MORGEN on Thursday, he said that "the task of the European peoples and major powers can consist only of creating guarantees that a unified Germany does not become a danger." His party was no adherent of the view that Germany should belong to both military alliances. However, Hungarian liberals believe that a power like Germany should not be allowed to be neutral either, but should be integrated into a security and defense system. "And that can only mean membership in NATO."

The unification of Germany also raised the issue of reforming or even dissolving the Warsaw Pact. "Our specific interests and traditions suggest that Hungary should secede, not by a unilateral act, but only within the framework of mutually acceptable agreements."

Government, IMF Issue Cmmunique on Economy

LD0606163990 Budapest MTI in English 1439 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 6, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—According to an official communique, an International Monetary Fund delegation, together with representatives of the Hungarian Government and the National Bank of Hungary, have been monitoring the performance of the Hungarian economy in the first quarter of 1990, and are

satisfied that all performance criteria laid down in the stand-by credit agreement have been met.

The state of the convertible current account was, it turned out, far more favourable than the figure set down in the agreement, owing primarily to a faster-than-envisaged growth in hard-currency exports.

Both the IMF officials and Hungarian Government representatives agreed, though, that further steps were needed to keep the state budget on target, and the Hungarian Government has promised to take the necessary measures.

The two sides also agreed that the healthy state of the country's convertible current account in the first quarter, and the government's consistent economic policy, will make it possible to target the convertible current account deficit at 400 million USD—well below the 550 million USD stipulated in the original stand-by agreement. This would also enable the country to raise its foreign currency reserves.

As a result of the successful talks, then, the Hungarian Government is confident that, after receiving the delegation's report, the IMF board will shortly approve the revision of the stand-by agreement: This will then open the way for the National Bank of Hungary to draw the next tranche of the credit line, the communique concludes.

Defense Minister Orders 2 Units Disbanded

LD0606230290 Budapest MTI in English 2220 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 6 (MTI)—The air defence missile regiment of the Hungarian Army, which has been stationed in Miskolc since 1951, and the radio-technical battation also serving there, will be eliminated without a legal successor. Both units bid farewell to the city on Wednesday.

The order of the minister of defence read out on the occasion noted that the Government of the Republic of Hungary, starting out from its long-term defence-political targets, is implementing troops reductions as part of the joint, unilateral confidence-building measures with the Warsaw Treaty member states. This process closely fits into the process of creating a smaller army than at present, but one that is more modern regarding its organization, weapons and preparedness.

More than half of the officers and sub-officers of the troops being eliminated will be transferred to garrisons in and around Budapest, 30 per cent will be placed into the reserve staff, or discharged. Most of the regular soldiers will serve on in barracks in the capital.

Assembly Debates Constitutional Modification

MDF's Kutrucz Proposes Changes

LD0506123590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0845 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Speech by Hungarian Democratic Forum Deputy Dr. Katalin Kutrucz at the 5 June session of the National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Chairman, esteemed fellow-deputies: The constitutional amendment which we shall begin to discuss today is the major portion of the package plan, whose first part—which pertains to the government's formation—was adopted by parliament on 9 May. I should like only to remind my esteemed fellow-deputies that the previous amendment which, I emphasize, constitutes part of the current amendment, had, as its most essential and determining point, that the premier is elected by parliament with an absolute majority, and that ministers are appointed by the president of the republic, at the proposal of the premier.

The package plan consists of several parts which can be distinguished from one another. The first—and I imagine that there will be least debate on this—changes the outdated, or simply imprecisely worded parts of the constitution. One such example is the shortening of the second clause of the constitution, to: The Republic of Hungary is a democratic legal state. [This clause currently reads: "The Republic of Hungary is an independent, democratic, legal state, in which the values of bourgeois democracy and democratic socialism both prevail."]

Another such example is that in order to increase support for private enterprises, the proposed amendment omits from the second paragraph of the ninth clause of the constitution "competition-neutrality" [versenysemlegesseg; this paragraph currently reads: "The Republic of Hungary, on the basis of the principle of competition-neutrality, acknowledges and supports the right of enterprises and freedom of competition which can be restricted only by a law of constitutional force"]

The proposal would alter Clause 12 so that it reads that the state supports cooperatives, and not the cooperative movement. Similarly, the reference to producers' self-management is omitted from the second paragraph of Clause 12 of the constitution. This does not mean, as a matter of course, that the workers of a given plant or factory might not be able to purchase shares, that they could not be shareholders of even a whole enterprise. However, this would not be producers' self-management but a kind of joint stock company.

The second part of the proposal, in order to counterbalance the narrowing-down of the two-thirds rule, contains a detailed regulation concerning certain institutions; for example, the incorporation of certain provisions of the Law on the State Audit Office in the constitution. Therefore, the part which refers to the expansion of the State Audit Office, properly speaking, is the transfer, verbatim or semantically, of certian provisions of the 1989 Law on the State Audit Office.

The third part pertains to the rights of the national and linguistic minorities. I have referred to national and linguistic minorities; we know that there is a debate about what we should call them, and obviously there will be arguement over this. For the sake of simplicity, we chose the solution adopting the constitutional label currently in force. Therefore, the third part, in the interest

of more effectively protecting the rights of national and linguistic minorities, introduces the institution of a National Assembly commissioner for nationality rights. At any event, we consider this solution to be better than coopting of individual nationality deputies, not only because in democratic countries it is not the custom to coopt members into elected bodies, but also because the nationality commissioner is able to assert more effectively and more successfully minority rights than if there is one deputy apiece per nationality. Our proposal pertains to amending the constitution. Nonetheless, allow me to say here and now that by this—that is by setting up the institution of National Assembly commissioner for nationality rights—we do not regard the representation of nationalities as having been sorted out. Alongside this, and I should like to emphasize this, we consider it important to incorporate into our election system a proportionate National Assembly representation of nationalities. This problem must be resolved, only not in the constitution. We are not against proportionate nationality representation. We consider this necessary, alongside the introduction of the institution of National Assembly commissioner for nationality rights. It is solely the system of induction determined by the previous parliament with which we do not agree.

The fourth part of the amendment to the constitution is related to changing the two-thirds rule. I do not want to justify separately the need for this, because to my knowledge everyone agrees with the absurdity of the current situation. However, allow me to apologize to my fellow deputies: An erroneous text has slipped into the justification attached to the second clause of the proposal; as a matter of course, the (?normal) text is authoritative. If it is a law on legislation, it must be adopted by a two-thirds majority, by a two-thirds majority of the deputies who are present. Moreover, the word "present" has been omitted from the Clause 32 of the proposal. This contains the manner of voting for the law on police and national security. The fact that this is a printing error is apparent from Clause 14 of the proposal, which says that votes of two-thirds of the National Assembly deputies are necessary to change the constitution. This two-thirds of National Assembly deputies may stand for legislative, constitutional, and other decisions; we have made exceptions to this only in connection with the coat-of-arms and the flag, because the coat-of-arms and the flag are constitutional issues and we have to resolve them somehow.

However, I would like to note in connection with the two-thirds rule, that it is the alteration of this rule which is the reason that thet text of the amendment is so long. More than half of the 51 clauses pertain solely to this. It is true that the solution we chose—that with the exception of the resolutions to be adopted by simple majority, we designated everywhere what proportion of vote is necessary for a decision—considerably lengthening the text you have in front of you. At the same time, and this is what we considered to be more important, it creates a clear situation. There will be no problems regarding interpretation; it will always be known what proportion of vote is necessary for what kind of decision.

The fourth and fifth parts are perhaps the most problematic. They are interconnected and are also related to the constitutional amendment adopted on 9 May. These amendments pertain to the manner of electing the president of the republic and the government, to terminating the government's mandate, and to the relationship between the president of the republic, the government, and parliament. The questions above are resolved in various manners by the constitutions of different republics, but never in a manner whereby when solving one thing, they do not give consideration to the others.

Allow me to begin with the election of president of the republic. The election of president of the republic takes place in different manners in different countries. The president of the republic is elected by the people, for example, in France, in Portugal, and in Austria. The president in all three countries has considerably more powerful licence vis-a-vis parliament and the government than in our proposal. This even holds for Austria. According to Clause 29 of the Austrian Constitution, the federal president can dissolve the National Council, the only restriction is that he can do so for the same reason once, at the most. The federal president appoints the chancellor, and at his proposal, the other members of the government, Clause 70 of the Austrian Constitution says, and the parliament constitutionally has nothing to do with this. Without preliminarily proposing to do so, he can relieve the chancellor or the entire government of their mandate. However, on the other hand, it is true that on the part of parliament, confidence can easily be withdrawn from government or from certain members, but again it is the right of the president of the republic to appoint a new head of government.

Among other European countries, the president of the republic is elected by parliament, like in our proposal. These countries can be divided into two, from the viewpoint of the rights parliament has regarding the election of premier. The ministers everywhere are appointed by the president of the republic, at the proposal of the premier. The premier, in most of these countries, is elected not by parliament, but is appointed by the president of the republic. Parliament at most can express no-confidence in the already formed government, and there are places where even the submission of no-confidence motions is hampered, for example, in Greece, where after a no-confidence motion is rejected, a new one cannot be submitted for six months, unless an absolute majority of deputies sign the motion.

Parliament is stronger in the countries where it is the decision of parliament—as we would like it to be—on which who is to be premier depends. The FRG chancellor, at the proposal of the federal president, is elected by parliament, and he is appointed by the federal president. In Spain, the king can appoint the premier he has designated only if parliament has voted confidence in him—namely, if parliament has no confidence in the premier appointed with its mediation, but who has nonetheless been designated by the federal president or king, and if it has no confidence in the government

chosen by the premier, then simultaneously to submitting a no-confidence motion, it designates, in accordance with its own decision, who should be the new premier. This institution is the constructive motion of no-confidence [konsztruktiv bizalmatlansagi inditvany]. As a matter of course, together with this scheme—that is, by parliament electing the president of the republic—it would be parliament which decides who should be the premier. This also entails that this strong parliament cannot be so easily dissolved—that is, as compared to those in countries which have not chosen this solution, the possibility of dissolving parliament is restricted.

A weak president of the republic, a relatively strong government, and a strong parliament—this is the essence of our scheme. We know that it would have been possible to choose another solution. It is possible that the new constitution which is to be created will adopt another scheme. But we feel that in our post-free-elections democracy, which is still only learning how to walk, it is good if the parliament, elected by the people, is the strongest factor.

In conclusion, allow me to call to the attention of my fellow-deputies that this scheme is a unified whole, and one of its pillars, pertaining to the election of the premier, has already been adopted. Indeed, as compared to the Bonn and Spanish constitutions, the licence of parliament is even stronger, since according to the constitutional amendment adopted on 9 May, the president of the republic does not even have the right of appointment regarding the premier. Therefore, it would be very unfortunate and illogical to shift the other elements of the structure into the direction of weakening parliament. I ask my fellow-deputies to take all these into account and adopt our proposal. Thank you.

Changes Debated

LD0506143890 Budapest MTI in English 1155 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 5 (MTI)—On Tuesday, the National Assembly resumed its session opened on May 24 in Budapest.

Under the agenda approved on Monday, MPs will embark on the general debate of the modification to the constitution, and on the modification to the parliamentary decision relating to the appointment of a delegate to represent Hungary in the political consultative body of the Warsaw Treaty.

Interpellations and questions will be adjourned to the session on next Tuesday.

The bill on the modification to the Constitution was put forward by Katalin Konya, (HDF) [Hungarian Democratic Forum]. She pointed out the most significant points of modification, such as adopting a new institution by appointing a parliamentary commissioner for nationality rights, and the detailed regulation on which laws would require a two-thirds majority vote, and which a simple majority.

The proposal also deals with the way of electing the president of the republic. This issue is likely to draw a major debate, as the drafters of the modification to the constitution proposed that the president of the Republic should be elected not directly by the people, but by parliament through a two-thirds majority vote.

Further on Debates

LD0506205290 Budapest MTI in English 1222 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 5 (MTI)—'It is the elimination of a few hidden state socialist categories and providing safeguards for the governability of the country that justify the need for a modification to the constitution,' said Peter Tolgyessy, head of the AFD [SZDSZ - Alliance of Free Democrats] group, in support of the proposal at the parliamentary session on Tuesday [5 June].

He said one of the main issues was the decision on how the president of the republic should be elected. He said the main question to be answered was whether the head of state or the prime minister should be the number-one political leader of the country. He said since Hungary had a parliamentary system and the real executive power was in the hands of the prime minister, it would not be desirable to set up a rival legal function endowed with great legitimity. This argument supported the version that the president of the republic should be elected by parliament.

He also stressed the need for narrowing the circle of "two-thirds" laws to ensure the governability of the country. He said the institution of a parliamentary commissioner for minority rights should be set up and a separate law passed on the way of the appointment and number of nationality ombudsmen.

In conclusion he said that a decision should also be brought relating to the Hungarian coat of arms.

On behalf the parliamentary group of the Independent Smallholders Party, its head Joszef Torgyan listed the following arguments in support of the bill on the modification.

He said a decision should be taken at last on whether Hungary wanted to adopt a parliamentary democracy or a presidential system. He said the establishment of the former had already started. The present modification to the constitution would be consistent with it, with special regard to the proposal that the head of state should be appointed by parliament, and that the so-called two-thirds rule should be changed for the sake of governability.

Mr. Torgyan also touched upon the new institution of a parliamentary commissioner for nationality rights. He said it should be only a temporary solution until a new electoral law was passed as soon as possible.

Imre Pozsgay, head of the Hungarian Socialist Party Group, listed some objections in connection with the legislative process and the bill on the modification to the constitution, itself.

He said none of the arguments in support of passing the bill required such an overall transformation of the constitution. What they called for was rather that the National Assembly should—urgently and preparing for a long parliamentary tug-of-wars—embark on drafting a new constitution.

He also objected to the fact that the bill was put forward by an MP group, again without the involvement of the government as if it had wanted to reload its oft-quoted responsibility on parliament.

Finally, he said that if the people were to elect the president directly, which would mean exercising their sovereignty, it would in no way undermine the power of the government or parliament's control over the executive.

In sum, the Socialists considered the bill sketchy, superficial and badly thought-out.

'It is basically a welcome development that the HDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] and the AFD have reached agreement, but the bill on the modification to the constitution reflects this compromise and is a cause for concern in many respects, said Gabor Fodor, expounding the position of the FYD [Federation of Young Democrats] group.

He pointed out as one of the bill's shortcomings its proposal for a major cut in the circle of laws that require a two-thirds majority to be passed, and the planned regulation of the motion of no-confidence against the government.

Mr. Fodor felt the bill submitted to debate lacked a concept that would assist future legislation. He also missed specific ideas as regards the division of power.

Tibor Fuzessy, head of the parliamentary group of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], stated at the very beginning of his contribution that their party respected the agreements, so the majority of KDNP MPs would vote in favour of the bill.

He agreed that the excessive use of constitutional laws would hinder the government's activity. He approved the four-grade system, which would make for voting on the individual laws according to their weight.

He also spoke in favor of the urgent need for regulating nationality and minority representation.

Mr. Fuzessy pointed out the nation would be best represented by a president of the republic whose strength was based not on a relatively unstable parliament and decision taken by a small group of people, but the trust of the entire nation. It was part of the party's tradition to support the direct election of the president of the republic.

The standpoint of the Independent Group of MPs was that the circle of modifications to the constitution should be considerably restricted. Their executive Laszlo Czoma pointed out that only the most necessary modifications—inevitable for the governability of the country until the new constitution was worked out—should be made.

Like the FYD members of parliament, Mr. Czoma said a simple majority should not be sufficient for passing a number of major laws. He claimed that the bill all but ignored popular representation in several points.

He added that parliament was not entitled to give the coalition cabinet a freedom of government to the extent outlined in the bill.

Finally Mr. Czoma said their parliamentary group was positive that the first president of the republic should be elected directly by the people.

Court Dismisses MSZMP Case Against HSP

LD0506111990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] The Metropolitan Court of first appeal has dismissed the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] legal suit, according to which the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] would have no right to possess MSZMP party assets. The plaintiff party, therefore, demands half of the assets from the socialists. The reason behind the court's decision to dismiss the MSZMP's suit was that the party should have started an action of this kind within 30 days after the party congress in October. The lawsuit has only ended after the first appeal, because the Supreme Court will probably have to give the final verdict in the affair.

Socialist Party Relinquishes Local Papers

LD0606203790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Party has decided to surrender the county papers in its possession.

At the same time the party Presidium banned the sale of its county publishers and dailies until their right of ownership is finally settled. The Socialists would like the sales to be conducted publicly, and to have only a small proportion of the papers' ownership rights go over to foreign hands.

The present decision of the Socialist Party does not affect the county papers already in the possession of the Springer firm.

New Defense State Secretary Appointed

LD0506212290 Budapest MTI in English 1718 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 5 (MTI)—Arpad Goncz, the interim president of the Republic of Hungary, has appointed Brigadier General Antal Annus as administrative secretary of state at the Ministry of Defence. The new secretary of state took the oath of office on Tuesday.

10,000 Soviet Troops To Be Withdrawn in 1990

LD0606135690 Warsaw PAP in English 1301 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, 6 Jun—"Ten thousand Soviet soldiers will be withdrawn from Poland by the end of this year," GAZETA WYBORCZA Solidarity daily quoted today government's plenipotentiary for the Soviet troops' stationing in Poland Mieczyslaw Debicki as saying in a letter to the Council of Ministers of May 30, 1990.

"It means that there will be some 48 thousand Soviet troops in Poland by the end of this year," the daily said.

"On June 1 a pullout of the commando brigade in Bialogard (northern Poland) started together with the liquidation of the material depot of an Air Force unit and withdrawal of a logistics unit from Torun (Central Poland). Also two heavy helicopter squadrons and a MiG-25 fighter group from Brzeg (southern Poland) are to be withdrawn till the end of this year," GAZETA reported.

"Also the command of the Northern Group of Soviet troops is expected to be moved from Swidnica (southern Poland) to Legnica, the capital of the neighbouring region," the paper said.

GAZETA quotes adviser to the government spokesman Grazyna Jaskula as saying that the withdrawal of a bigger number of troops is currently impossible, because the Soviet authorities do not have an appropriate number of flats for those returning home.

Military Presence Reduced in Brzeg

LD0606153790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Correspondent Leszek Opalacz report]

[Text] [Opalacz] I have news for you, ladies and gentlemen, concerning reductions in Soviet troops at Brzeg. On this subject, here is Jan Pikor, who is conducting negotiations on behalf of Brzeg authorities.

[Pikor] Work is currently in progress on a new intergovernmental agreement by which the presence of Soviet troops on Polish territory, and therefore in Brzeg, will be subject to the principle of full reimbursement.

[Opalacz] So at long last, a normal situation will exist, under new conditions, with a new local self-government structure and ownership of communal assets. For you, this is a splendid thing.

[Pikor] The 70 planes which are currently at Brzeg airport will be reduced to 30 in, around, July or August. In view of this, and in accordance with a statement made by General Debicki, Soviet families will move out of apartments in the city by the end of the year, and as many will stay as can be accommodated in apartments at the airport. The Soviet side is at present using 510 of our apartments, and by the end of the year they will be returned to the city.

Historian Interviewed on Warsaw Pact Issues

PM0106091790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 May 90 First Edition p 3

[Report on interview with Colonel A. Marcinkowski, department chief at the Polish Army Military History Institute, by Lieutenant Colonel V. Kharchenko under the rubric "Topical Interview": "Looking Into the Future"; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] For 35 years now the Warsaw Pact—the collective defensive alliance of East European countries—has reliably served the cause of strengthening peace and international security. Lieutenant Colonel V. Kharchenko discusses the past, present, and future of this military-political organization with Colonel A. Marcinkowski, department chief at the Polish Army Military History Institute and doctor of historical sciences. [passage omitted]

[Kharchenko] The following question was voiced in a recent public speech by an official representative of the Polish republic: Why are the allied forces always headed by Soviet generals and why can a representative of another Warsaw Pact state not be appointed to this post? In your view is this a question of principle?

[Marcinkowski] In my view, the appointment of a representative of any other allied state to the post of commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces would not impinge upon the USSR's interests in the least. Especially as this very possibility is provided for by documents regulating the activity of the Warsaw Pact's military organization. The East European countries' autonomy has grown appreciably with the start of perestroyka in the USSR. And the military sphere must not constitute an exception. The sooner we arrive at considered and well thought-out decisions here, the stronger and more united our defensive alliance will be.

[Kharchenko] Everything would seem to be clear so far as the immediate future is concerned. But what if we look further into the future?

[Marcinkowski] Mikhail Gorbachev's proclamation of the new political thinking, the efforts made by Warsaw Pact states to construct an all-European home, and the priority of common human values which they have declared have substantially lessened tension both in the world and in Europe. Nevertheless I do not consider it superfluous to stress that this process, like the unification of the two German states, is in the development stage. It is extremely difficult to judge its final result today. In this situation, just as 35 years ago, to remain in the Warsaw Pact, I am deeply convinced, is in the state interests of Poland.

I would like to see a Europe free from any kind of barriers. Whether I will live to see it, only time will tell. Whatever you say, military blocs are a product of the "cold war" times.

The need to create a system of all-European security and abandon bloc thinking is long overdue. The Warsaw Pact's position here is principled and unequivocal: "No" to the division of Europe and the world into military blocs opposing one another, and "yes" to their simultaneous disbandment, the first step being to lend to the Warsaw Pact and NATO the character of politico-military organizations.

Poles Caught Transporting Tear Gas to Vilnius

LD0606112190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Correspondent Krzysztof Kurianiuk report]

[Text] Customs officers in Grodno have informed us of an uncommon shipment. Yesterday, they detained two Polish citizens traveling by train from Bialystok to Vilnius. These citizens were each transporting 35 containers of West German Cs-5,000 tear gas. From explanations given by the detained—the Soviet customs service did not provide personal details—it transpires that the transported load was meant for certain residents of Vilnius who had promised 200 rubles for each container of gas. A week ago, Soviet tourists were being offered similar goods at a Bialystok bazaar by two young men. Could it be the same ones? Did they slip up?

Walesa Decisions Bring Adverse Reaction

Criticism of Wujec Dismissal

AU0606140290 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 4 Jun 90 p 2

[Unattributed commentary: "What Is Going On?"]

[Text] On Friday [1 June], Lech Walesa wrote "consider yourself dismissed" to Henryk Wujec, the secretary of the Citizens Committee. Wujec wrote that he does not feel that he has been dismissed. (The letters appeared in the previous issue of GAZETA WYBORCZA).

Jaroslaw Kurski, spokesman for both Wujec and Walesa, refused to comment on the issue.

The single reason that Walesa gave in his letter dismissing Wujec was the need "to expand the committee's political formula." It can be assumed that Walesa is referring to the concept that is being implemented by Zdislaw Najder, who was made chairman of the committee on 22 February. Najder has broadened the committee to include several dozen representatives of various political parties, including persons who ran against "Solidarity" candidates in last year's elections.

A further reason for dismissing Wujec is undoubtedly that Walesa is launching his "war," that is, the political struggle that he announced in May. Before going to war, one dresses ranks and one wants to have people who want to take part in a war in important posts, institutions. Seemingly Wujec, who has been linked to Walesa since the 1970's, is not considered to be that kind of man. He also has not made statements backing Walesa's candidacy for the presidency.

There is also the matter of the approach that was used. First, Walesa dismissed someone who was elected by the committee. Second, he informed Wujec of the decision in a public letter without discussing it with him or providing a more detailed explanation. The way in which Wujec was dismissed would be fitting under a monarchy, and only an absolute monarchy at that.

'Stormy' Debate at Solidarity Meeting

LD0606152290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Barbara Sampolska report]

[Text] Discussion today of the first item on the agenda at the National Commission of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity plenum lasted more than two hours. It's title sounded rather innocent: the situation in Poland. But as no doubt has occurred to you, ladies and gentlemen, discussions took place on recent actions by Lech Walesa, who decided to withdraw the Solidarity logo from GAZETA WYBORCZA.

The discussion was stormy. Extreme views were expressed and there was no absence of slander concerning the settling of private interests, taking offense against the GAZETA for its criticisms, and political maneuvering. All in all, no official document was adopted on this subject, despite the fact the majority of members shared the opinion that the Solidarity logo ought to belong solely to the union and its direct agents. Thus, the issue still awaits a definitive solution.

In future proceedings, the plenum participants heard a report on the progress of negotiations between railroad workers and the government. Although this was only meant to be informative, the subject also aroused a good deal of emotion.

Several matters still have to be settled by the end of the day, among them a decision on giving the Solidarity name to combatants, and a reply to the question of whether Solidarity-80, which is soon to be registered, may use the world-famous logo.

The proceedings continue.

Walesa on Differences With Michnik

LD0606163190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] A discussion with Lech Walesa on the latest personnel decisions concerning Henryk Wujec, Adam Michnik, and GAZETA WYBORCZA, and about the situation in the country, filled the first part of a meeting

of the Solidarity National Commission in Gdansk. Other subjects at the meeting included the recent railmen's strike, unemployment, and privatization processes.

[Begin Walesa recording] Adam Michnik was appointed by me, personally, to work as the editor and founder of GAZETA WYBORCZA, the aim of which at the time, after the roundtable, was to bring about the victory of the Solidarity team which I led. Adam Michnik made a perfectly good job of it in that respect; we won. But after all that, I discovered after some time that Adam Michnik had set up a private company. And that which he confirms is true, that is, he is no longer in the situation when I appointed him, but he is an editor in a private—I emphasize, private—company, and not someone appointed by me, so he should sort things out. Let's say, let him be appointed by them, let him be authorized by them, but I withdraw my authorization from him, because he is a member of a company. That's one.

Second, is Bujak's interpretation correct? He says that he is entitled because, together with me, or perhaps even more so, he fought for Solidarity. If we follow this reasoning, then once I get sacked from the union, I will name my glasshouse Solidarity, too. So let's go further. After all, Miodowicz was also in Solidarity, and now he is going to name his booth Solidarity. This reasoning is wrong. Only the union and the National Commission are entitled to the Solidarity sign, and only the Commission can decide what to do with the sign. [end recording]

Wujec Discussion of Dismissal

LD0506203890 Warsaw PAP in English
1554 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Jun—Henryk Wujec has presented PAP with a statement on Lech Walesa's decision to recall him from the post of secretary of the Citizen's Committee attached to the Solidarity leader, reading in part:

First, I do not intend to take issue with Lech Walesa on the correctness of his decision. I therefore do not intend to hold that what I did and do cannot be done better.

Second, I am surprised at the procedure of this decision. It could not have been envisaged in the regulations of the citizen's Committee because Lech Walesa himself regrets that it does not exist. In this situation, it would therefore be natural to leave this important (I think that not only for me) decision to the assembly of the committee's members, in other words, those who elected me secretary, especially as such a meeting will take place soon (June 24). Moreover, Lech Walesa in his statement acknowledges the committee's right to autonomy.

Third, in strictly human terms I feel sad that Lech Walesa, whom I have known for over 12 years, with whom I have worked in good and bad times and who was aware of the numerous work I am conducting (he accuses me that there were too many of them though he personally asigned me to many of them), could not find the time to talk to me personally and informed about his decision by fax.

Michnik Editorial Statement on Dispute

LD0606203990 Warsaw PAP in English
1203 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 6—"In connection with the publications in Poland and abroad on my dismissal from the post of editor-in- chief of the GAZETA WYBORCZA daily by Lech Walesa, I wish to state the following," Adam Michnik said in his editorial today:

"The employing or dismissing of GAZETA staffers, including its editor-in-chief, comes within the powers of the publishers. GAZETA was founded by a group of employees of and contributors to underground dailies, especially the TYGODNIK MAZOWSZE weekly, which since 1982 had used in his [as received] headpiece the Solidarity logo together with a quotation from Lech Walesa's speech at the 1st national congress in 1981 saying: 'Solidarity cannot be destroyed or divided,'" Michnik said.

"During the last days I received two letters from Lech Walesa. They were not of a public character and I treated them as a private correspondence and in this way I did reply to Lech Walesa. Neither I nor anyone of the employees of GAZETA WYBORCZA did relay information of this correspndence to mass media," Michnik added.

Bujak Comment on Letter to Michnik

LD0506211990 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1730 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] REUTER was the first to report Walesa's letter to Michnik:

Gdansk, 4 June 1990. Adam, before the elections on 4 June 1989 I appointed you editor-in-chief of the GAZETA WYBORCZA. Life has moved on, and in the meantime a limited company, Agora, has been created, which has become the publisher of that newspaper. In this situation my nomination for all intents and purposes is groundless. You ought to obtain a new nomination from the company. We ought to also jointly think about whether a paper published by a private company can still continue to use the Solidarity logo. Signed by Lech Walesa.

Zbigniew Bujak is a member of the Agora company. Here are his words:

[Begin Bujak recording] The Agora company was initially made up of three people, myself, Andrzej Wajda and Aleksander Paszynski, and our task was to defend the independence of the paper. At the moment it is a company with more than 20 people who are all employees of the editorship. Solidarity people, people

who have been with Solidarity all the time. In this sense it is at this moment a kind of a workers' company. It is up to the recipients whether they reveal the exchange of correspondence with Adam Michnik, private correspondence. This is the second step by Lech Walesa after the attempt [as heard] to dismiss Henryk Wujec from the post of secretary of the Citizens Committee. Both of these people are Solidarity people, people who have been in Solidarity all along, and who, by their attitude, have proved their loyalty to Solidarity. In this sense no one can take that sign away from them.

I think that this matter should be viewed against a far more serious background of conflict, a political conflict about the attitude to Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government. The GAZETA WYBORCZA consistently, not without critical words sometimes, supports the government, it supports its policy. This is the basis of the entire conflict. These are matters which should be spoken about publicly, openly, and I think this should be discussed with Lech Walesa publicly, and I myself or, I think, anyone else would be willing to take up such a debate. [end recording]

Wujec on Walesa's 'Unnecessary' Behavior

LD0506212790 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Many questions, much speculation and many rumors have arisen following the publication of the Walesa-Wujec-Walesa correspondence. We are reminding you that Lech Walesa dismissed Henryk Wujec from the post of secretary of the Citizens Committee [KO] attached to the Solidarity chairman.

The secretariat managed by Henryk Wujec dealt with the organization of Citizens Committee meetings and supported local KO's. It supplied them with information, legal consultations, and organized material and technical help. The Citizens Committees started to be organized as early as the roundtable meetings. Afterwards in the Solidarity KO Electoral Office, whose work was directed by Henryk Wujec himself, a liaison team with local KO's was formed. Three members of the team, Wojciech Borowik, Wojciech Onyszkiewicz, and Krzysztof Szyminski write that Lech Walesa's decision, de facto, liquidates the team. In connection with this they have requested KO's in Poland to decide the team's future.

[Begin Wujec recording] He ought to say it without mincing his words, after all we have known each other for 12 years, we have worked together for a long time, and I think I have the right to hear from him directly. It is bad that I learned about it by fax, and from the television and the press. I do not think I should carry out the post of secretary of the KO attached to Lech Walesa. That is a matter to be decided by the Committee; it appointed me to that post and can dismiss me from that post, and at the very next meeting of the Committee that could happen. I quite simply think it was unnecessary. The accusations made about me later, after the decision had been made, I think were unjust and twisted, and I think the accusation, for example, that I do many jobs, from the mouth of Lech, who himself asked me to do them, is not right. [end recording]

Defense of Walesa Actions

LD0506215390 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Statement by Jaroslaw Kaczynski, editor in chief of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Regarding the matter of GAZETA WYBORCZA and Adam Michnik, I am dealing here with a reprimand which Lech Walesa issued to a publication which is considered, even though it is not, a solidarity organ; a publication which recently undertook a very fierce campaign against Walesa himself, and also against Solidarity. The Solidarity camp is a broad one, and there is much tolerance within it, but certain limits do exist, and one has to decide whether one is within this camp or outside it. At this moment, Adam Michnik has simply been confronted with such a choice by Lech Walesa. I would not tie this issue directly to the situation within the Citizens' Committee, to the case of Henryk Wujec. Here, we are dealing simply with the type of situation whereby Henryk Wujec, while running the secretariat, in essence subordinated himself to the leadership of the OKP [Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group], which is also one of the centers within the framework of the Solidarity camp, but it is a different center to that set up by Lech with Zdzislaw Najder at its head. Well, there were attempts to settle it amicably, without success, and therefore, this decision was made.

Walesa Explanation of Decisions

LD0606224790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] During a meeting of the NSZZ Solidarity National Commission in Gdansk, Lech Walesa explained the reasons for personnel changes. On the subject of Henryk, Wujec he said: For 3 months now I have been discussing with him the fact that the Citizens' Committee cannot be the back-up for either the government or the OKP (Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group), but has to be a platform for various forces. The Citizens' Committee was created at my invitation, declared Walesa, but it is beginning to operate in such a manner that I have no rights and no say there. The secretary cannot do whatever he wants and not fall in line with the chairman.

Regarding Adam Michnik, the Solidarity chairman declared: I did not recall Michnik, only suggested that he should consider the situation. He was appointed after the roundtable, to make a good job of the elections and organise the propaganda. And that's what happened. Now it is a different story, since Adam Michnik is a member of a private company. Who needs Solidarity in

a company? Who needs a private paper with the Solidarity logo? I wanted this to be cleared up, explained Lech Walesa.

Walesa on 'Mistake' of Status Quo

LD0706051490 Warsaw PAP in English 2240 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 6—My activity proceeded till the moment of the round table, till the moment the Senate, the Sejm and the government were formed. And my best friends became members of these bodies. It is here that my responsibility ends, Lech Walesa told TV prime time news bulletin today.

I expected those great and wise people to make next good steps, to launch the processes of terrific democratization the moment the party ceased to exist. They did not do that. Today, when I scrutinized the situation, my colleagues, I came to a conclusion that this status quo when there is no opposition even to the government, even to Solidarity in the situation when communist monopoly does not exist is a terrible mistake, Walesa continued.

That I am accused for government activities is not right. That I am accused that I am not a Democrat is not right either. If these bodies do not fill their roles, it is not my fault. I only helped to create them but today they do not move forward, their condition is that of stagnation. The whole political arrangement I constructed stopped in a position that is comfortable for itself, which terrifies me and over which I am dissatisfied. I am sorry that these are my colleagues, Walesa stated.

Michnik on Support for Walesa as President

LD0706084190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] GAZETA WYBORCZA today publishes the private correspondence of the recently antagonized Lech Walesa and Adam Michnik. In reference to the published letters, Adam Michnik states, among other things, that it was a question of the new shape of the Polish political scene, of the attitude toward Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government, of a stubborn effort at destablization undertaken by the adherents of the election of Lech Walesa as president by the present parliament in the autumn this year.

We did not support this idea in our columns, Adam Michnik writes. I personally consider, as Premier Mazowiecki does, that the election of a new president ought to be carried out in a totally democratic manner, by general elections or by a democratically elected parliament. I believe that we can go to those elections together with Lech Walesa. If he wants to run for that high office, he will have a real chance of victory, however, on one condition: that he serve as the president of a democratic republic and not the monarch of a post communist empire.

Adam Michnik invites Lech Walesa to visit the editorial offices of GAZETA WYBORCZA for a friendly chat with the team.

Geremek on Solidarity's Value

LD0706050990 Warsaw PAP in English 2334 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 6—I would like to tell all people from various weeklies who give off poison and sow hatred that Solidarity is a great value of our country, linked to it for today and tomorrow, Bronislaw Geremek said at a meeting of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club today. Those who get involved in personal political games do it because they know that there is no other great value such as Solidarity, he added.

In his emotional and personal address Geremek stressed that Solidarity and related citizens' movement scored their political success as they treated their role in relation to society as ancillary. However, today I am under impression that elements of struggle for power appear also within our movement, he stated.

Discussing the political situation in the country, Geremek said: We passed a year of systemic transformations in Poland. We have achieved a lot, nobody could have foreseen our achievements. But we did not manage to unequivocally and publicly tell people that it is just us who destroyed the power of the Communist Party in the country as we decided that that lied in the interest of the Polish state. We did not manage to reveal this truth to public opinion.

We were not able to impute the decisions of the government the character they should have. We must be aware that support for the government which is our government does not exclude a critical attitude towards some of its representatives, does not exclude a critical attitude towards concrete decisions of administration, it is just critical reflection that is our task. Criticising government activities, we criticise ourselves. We ourselves are the foundations of the existence of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government, Geremek stated.

In his opinion elections to local government showed that society identified itself with the program of changes in Poland to a limited extent.

The Citizens' Parliamentary Club presented a programme under which the parliament's term should be reduced by half as part of the process of changes taking place on the political scene. We propose that Poland have a new constitution, a new parliament, a new government and a new president not later than by may 3, 1991, Geremek told the meeting.

Before the club discussed the agenda of a two-day sejm meeting, to start tomorrow, deputies and senators took a stance on the chairman's address. They wanted the draft constitution to be subjected to a national referendum

with the exclusion of representatives of emigre centres. They also proposed to invite Lech Walesa to attend a session of the club.

Walesa Attends Solidarity Meeting on Rail Strike

LD0506222590 Warsaw PAP in English 1923 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Gdansk, 5 Jun—Presidium of the Solidarity National Commission met in Gdansk today to discuss preparations for trade union negotiations with the government on railwaymen issues scheduled for June 6.

The negotiations will be held following hunger strike of railwaymen in the northern town of Slupsk and strikes in a considerable part of the north-western railway network in Poland last May. Lech Walesa who successfully negotiated to end the strikes promised to help solve the railwaymen's demands.

The National Commission Presidium also discussed problems connected with the union's stance on privatisation processes taking place in the Polish economy.

Lech Walesa attended part of the meeting.

Rail Workers, Government Begin Talks

LD0706051990 Warsaw PAP in English 2350 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 6—Representatives of railwaymens unions, Minister of Labour and Social Policy Jacek Kuron, high ranking officials at the Ministry of Transport and Maritime Economy and the general management of the Polish State Railways (PKP) started talks here today. The negotiations continued till late in the evening.

There is some progress as we begin to talk about concrete things, about the impossibility to accept a proposal of the PKP management to spread in time the operation of pay rises, chairman of the federation of railwaymens unions Waldemar Chyczewski said. Since we are interested in the present moment. [sentence as received] Still, as we are negotiating concrete sums already now, we may reach an agreement, he stated.

Council Views Early Results of Economic Program

LD0506213890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] The Council of Ministers has met, chaired by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The Council assessed the implementation of the government's economic program over the first five months of this year and stipulated conclusions for the coming months. It was stated that so far clear progress has been achieved in the implementation of both the elements of stabilization as well as the program of institutional changes. It was stressed that the Polish economy, primarily because of its current ownership structure, reacts to increased demand with increased prices rather than with increased production.

Taking into consideration the current premises arising from the course of economic processes this year, the Council of Ministers has acknowledged that basic elements of the government's economic policy should be maintained. This week Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz will present the government's economic actions in the broader forum of public opinion.

In accordance with the recommendation of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, work on the envisaged draft on the budget law, the government's agricultural policy guidelines, and regional industrial policy will be increased during June.

Gendarmerie Named Replacement for Former WSW

LD0606212390 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] The Military Internal Service [WSW] will be replaced by the Military Gendarmerie. General Jerzy Jarosz will be its commander and the military gendarmes will have high moral and professional qualities.

Censorship Law Abrogated, Inspectorate Abolished

LD0606224190 Warsaw PAP in English 1947 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 6—Censorship is not binding in Poland any more as of June 6 since today is the day when the law comes into effect which abrogates the law on censorship of publishing, broadcasting and entertainment and dissolves censorship bodies, including the central inspectorate.

The law was adopted by the Sejm last April.

Iliescu Statement En Route to Pact Meeting

AU0606204690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1910 GMT 6 Jun 90

[President-elect Ion Iliescu statement to Alexandru Stark en route to Moscow meeting of Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee; date not given—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed listeners, in connection with the session [of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee], Mr. Ion Iliescu made the following statement, on his flight to Moscow, to special Romanian television reporter Alexandru Stark to clarify certain things:

[Begin Iliescu recording] The current meeting is of particular significance, taking into account the changes that are under way on the European continent, in both the countries that belong to the Warsaw Pact and in Europe in general, including the changes linked to the unification process of the two German states.

This poses fresh problems for both relations between the two blocs that exist on the European Continent, and especially for the positive process—which has already clear prospects—of promoting multilateral cooperation among all European states within the context of the CSCE. Therefore, the main target of this meeting is to have an exchange of thoughts on how to appropriately adapt the Warsaw Pact, in which political problems are of major importance--apart from the military ones—within the context of the CSCE process. [end recording]

Official Cites Potential of Market Economy

AU0606112690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0929 GMT 6 Jun 90

["Measures for a Market Economy"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 6/6/1990—After the revolution, the Romanian economy has had to cope with particularly difficult conditions. Now industry maintains at about four fifths of the level of the real production turned out in the first four months last year, whereas agriculture has registered a hope-giving rate, states the spokesman for the Ministry of the National Economy, Mr. Mircea Pirjol, director.

To take the economy out of the immobilism reflected by the past overcentralization, several measures have been taken to revaluate its potential and establish the real economic situation inherited from the former regime, to work out more realistic programmes based on the current situation, maintain industry in an operational state through a policy adjusted to the situation newly created by the reduction of energy consumption in favour of population's consumption, decentralize the management and planning of the economy and prepare for a passage to the market economy.

The productive potential in the basic economic sectors proved sensitively inferior to that officially reported in the years of dictatorship, while the stocks registered in various documents did virtually not exist.

In such conditions, firm action has been taken to provide the population with foodstuffs, above all, by ceasing their export and importing meat, butter, cheese, citrus fruits, coffee and others worth several hundred million dollars. For agriculture, massive imports have been ordered under contracts consisting in soybean-based concentrates, bio-stimulators and pest-killers. Following the already made efforts, a surplus could be registered with eggs, while the problem of poultry meat is also to be solved. The demands for the other types of foodstuffs are expected to be met by the end of this year. In the first four months of this year the population could buy, on an average, 18 per cent more consumer goods than in the corresponding period last year: 2.6 times more gasoline, 100 per cent more refrigerators, 50 per cent more TV sets, 47 per cent more meat preparations and canned meat, 79 per cent more butter, 15 per cent more edible oil and 38 per cent more sugar.

Though inflation is not visible yet it can be felt, the spokesman said. There are inflationist pressures owing to the social measures applied. The higher incomes of some categories of workers and the shorter work week have made labour productivity account for only 78 per cent of the level attained in the first four months last year.

The transition to the market economy as a unanimously recognized practical demand is paralleled by measures for the decentralization of economic decisions concretized, for instance, in a drastic limitation of the indices thoroughly planned in the past from the centre, the ministries, central departments and enterprises being given now the freedom to work out their programmes by themselves, to alone provide for raw materials and sales, establishing limits only for certain basic commodities and for energy resources. The Ministry of the National Economy still approves only a few investment projects those with high values. As for the foreign trade activities, the export and import volume in point of value is set so as to maintain control over the hard currency balance. As concerns the work force, there is only one indicator: the fund of wages in 1,000 lei worth of turned-out production.

With a view to passing to a market economy, a programme was worked out by the government, the content of which is to be made public. Enterprises signal arrears in the decentralization of competences which are still limited by the former laws still in force. They refer to the settlement of the enterprises' rights and obligations, to the planning system, wages, investment, supply, finance. That is why the newly elected state power bodies will have to carry on an intensive legislative work to replace such laws which restrict autonomy so that the economic competences conducive to a market economy should be put in motion.

Strategy of Transition to Market Economy Viewed

AU0606215090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2032 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 6/6/1990—The Draft Strategy of Transition to Market Economy in Romania elaborated by a commission set up by the provisional government and headed by Academician Tudor Postolache has been released.

In a foreword Premier Petre Roman specifies that the study was made in consultation with a wide range of experts in a variety of fields. It advances a formula by which the social cost of the transition to the market economy can be met right away. The work is published in a relatively summary form; the basic studies and different variants and opinions comprised in the commission's inner work will be put at the disposal of the new government.

The introduction shows that the main studies refer to four major aspects of the transition strategy:

1. The economic-financial framework;
2. The general framework of the social policy;
3. Specific issues in various branches during the transition period (including technological reequipment and updating);
4. The legal framework.

The list of the participants who made a substantial contribution to working out and discussing the studies include more than 1,200 experts.

Consequently, documentation activities were undertaken as teams of experts travelled to most of the advanced countries that promote a market economy; furthermore, issues facing a number of East-European countries in the process of passing on to a market economy were looked into; consultations and talks were held with decision makers in governmental economic bodies in various countries and in banks and with experts in international economic organizations.

From the very beginning, touches of exclusivism and of monopoly on the truth were liquidated and the assertion of the most diverse, even opposed viewpoints was encouraged, considering that a confrontation of various hypotheses and opinions in advance was preferable to "live" social experiments.

The introduction further describes the situation we have inherited from the old regime.

The ever more marked centralist-bureaucratic character of statal monopolist socialism, which acquired downright monstrous forms in Romania, paralyzed creative initiative in society, led to irrationality and inefficiency in employing resources and diverted economic activities from their natural social goal—human needs.

A marked disbalance characterized the economy reflecting in lags in agriculture, in over emphasis on primary manufacturing industrial branches, in the ever more serious energy problem and in the neglect of the tertiary sector. The competitivity of the Romanian economy was most adversely affected by its isolation from the European and world economic, technical and scientific flow.

The policy of the old regime had serious implications for the standard of living of the people who were deprived on a material and spiritual plane in a manner that is hard to image in a European country of the end of the 20th century.

We are faced with an economic crisis whose genesis, direct causes, specific shows and dimensions should be investigated with a view not only to outlining a realistic image of our inheritance in the economic area but also to making every one aware of the fact that the overcoming of the crisis is a long-term process which will probably cover most of the transition period, developing with various degrees of intensity but in forms that might become explosive when added some of the inherent costs of the transition proper in an uncontrolled way.

Therefore, it is only obvious that the process of building a new-type economy from its foundations is not going to be a triumphal march; it will be a process filled with tension, difficulties and states of conflict. The major goal of a balanced strategy is to identify potential hotbeds of tension, which should be lessened through adequate measures. That is why, the success of transition depends on an as board as possible social consensus.

On the other hand, the investigation of the nature of the crisis leads to a fundamental conclusion: Any solution which, in one form or another, counts on a comeback to the mechanism of supercentralized planning is not only reactionary but also utopian; the serious contradictions that have amassed cannot be solved through mere cosmetics on the old edifice; the passage to a market economy highly receptive to the exigent demands of the 21st century is an unquestionable necessity.

Underscoring that the attempt to work out a detailed image of the Romanian market economy or to import in toto a certain "model," taken from other national spaces, has no justification, the authors suggest guidelines for the transformation of the system of the order economy: liberalization of prices, decentralization of economic activities, demonopolization of production, open-scale privatization, functional openness of the economy, macroeconomic stabilization (renunciation of subsidies, application of "heavy" budgets vis-a-vis manufacturers—bankruptcy, a dear-money policy—positive real interest charges, etc.). These are guidelines that should be pursued simultaneously and comprehensively, in a correlated manner and as fast as possible considering the existing set of social and political restrictions.

The strategy opted for could be defined as a gradual transition, effected at a fast pace, wherein the legal and economic mechanisms which are strictly necessary for the operation of the market economy are applied at a fast

pace (in two or three years at the most, all while providing for the corresponding social protection of the community as a whole).

The transition to the market economy, as any other radical change in the economic body, ineluctably implies a number of social costs (several production units will be abandoned, investment projects will be ceased, there will be unemployment and prices will go up).

Naturally, the passage to the market economy will make up for social costs only later, when the first positive results are yielded. By virtue of specific factors in Romania such an alternative is not acceptable to the population.

The suggested draft strategy sets forth a guideline whereby the social costs of transition are recouped as they emerge so that a level of basic social indicators comparable with the European average can be attained during the very processes of transition and not later. To fulfil that target the rate of accumulation should be cut, economic efficiency should rise and foreign capital should be drawn in; combinations of these means were studied according to eight basic scenarios, which lead to the suggested level of per-capita consumption in different periods of time.

All the eight scenarios start from the premise of cutting the rate of accumulation from 30-35 percent of the gross national product the percentage of the previous period to 23-24 percent, all while boosting the efficiency of accumulation through technological reequipment and the change in investment structures.

From this point of view, two priority lines are recommended: a) agriculture, the food industry, tourism and services; b) information sciences, the use of microprocessors in and the robotization of the economy, intended to capitalize on a rigorously professional basis, the major national wealth the people's intelligence and creativity a factor that can offer the chance of turning lags into a lever of progress, which has been seldom encountered in the economic history of the world.

There is one more particularity that distinguishes the strategy for a transition to the market economy in Romania, namely, the attention given from the very beginning to the problem of the costs of environmental protection and the reestablishment of the ecological balance (legislative, financial, currency and educational aspects being duly considered).

In view is also an inversion of the dynamics of economic growth (after the production drops of 1989, the GNP is expected to grow at an average annual rate of at least 3.7-3.8 percent), concomitantly with mutations in the structure by branches and the rise in the efficiency of the national economy as a whole.

Finally, there is the broad openness of the national economy to the European and world economy, which is intended to lead to another type of participation in world economic exchanges, one that radically differs from that of the old regime, which virtually cultivated an obsolete autarchy, promoted; conditions will be put in place to draw in foreign capital and make loans within rational limits, more particularly for the application of top technology and of information sciences.

NSF Development, Campaign Strategy Surveyed

AU3005135490 Bucharest "22" in Romanian 25 May 90 p 1

[Stelian Tanase article: "After the Fall"]

[Text] The National Salvation Front [NSF] won the 20 May election much earlier: On 24 January when it decided to leave the position of a powerful arbiter and maintainer of the whole state apparatus and to enter the competition while continuing as maintainer of the state apparatus. The gap between this party and the other political forces remained the same and proved insurmountable. Thus, the only stake in these elections was to send a strong opposition to the parliament. Everybody needed this: Not only civilian society in order to accelerate development and to limit central power, but also the NSF to limit the authoritarian tendencies of its own apparatus, in order to enjoy credibility abroad and to distribute responsibilities in a disastrous economic situation. Civilized countries promote—as a precaution—the rights of the political minority—that is, of the opposition for the simple reason of having a healthy mechanism of power. The existence of a genuine alternative, of a governing reserve is a decisive factor for the stability of democracy. Without a strongly articulated opposition, the NSF will be forced to cope with the most acute tension, and there will be nobody around, no one from a coalition with whom to share the responsibility for failure, because a vote—even if massively favorable—does not guarantee the necessary capability to provide an effective answer to the serious questions confronting us. The same electorate, so determined in granting the mandate to the NSF, will turn away from it when faced with a failure, and walk out into the street to demonstrate its dissatisfaction.... The need for a strong opposition and its absence in the elapsed and future period is being felt and will have baneful consequences in the sense that it delays democracy in Romania a few years.

The failure of the opposition is not only due to the maneuver at the end of January, but also to its own inability to unite. The division into scores of parties, the lack of concerted actions is contrary to what is happening in the other East European countries. In those countries the opposition came to the elections in a united way and won an overwhelming victory. The communist parties achieved ridiculous percentages like...the opposition in our country on 20 May.

If in the other East European countries the transformation of the communist parties failed, in our country this disguised process succeeded perfectly. Banking on the

revolutionary explosion in December, the NSF succeeded in introducing itself as a new political and democratic force. Presuming that its ideology is not of a communist type (?), the apparatus with which the NSF will exercise its power—and with which it did so during these months—is the one before the revolution.

One thing is sure: This changed image led to confusion; the identification of the political forces was difficult and a lot of time was lost. This elapsed time was fatal for the opposition. However, the opposition lost on 20 May also for more simple and nonpolitical reasons. The people voted for continuity. The past is still very present in everyone's mind. We are not yet ready for change—we are afraid of it. Reforms are inevitable, thus we have just delayed them. The absolute majority won by the NSF indicates not only this group's popularity among the people and not only the handicap it has dealt its adversaries since January, but it also indicates a collective mentality which has not detached itself from that articulate NO to Ceausescu. Most of all, it indicates the inability to outline a clear and tangible vision of a future that is different from the life we lived in past decades. Social imagination thus proved to be weaker than fear of the unknown and the rigors of democracy. I think that all of us have underrated the force of this conservatism.

* Consequences of NSF Landslide Examined

90BA0145A Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 29 May 90 p 1

[Editorial: "The Incorruptible"]

[Text] The elections are over. The political parties, whatever their weight in the future legislative forum, are preparing their strategies for the future. In the wake of the 20 May elections the National Salvation Front [NSF] has consolidated and has emerged as the main political force in the country. By casting their ballots so heavily in favor of the NSF candidates the electorate has rewarded the good work done by the Front between 22 December 1989 and 20 May 1990. At the same time, the people expressed faith in its future options and in the program with which the Front ran in the elections, a program designed to pull the country out of its profound crisis, to resolutely advance along the path of democracy and political pluralism, and to defend and develop the fundamental rights of all the citizens.

The important victory won by the NSF is undoubtedly an advantage, but it is a disadvantage, too, because the NSF's responsibilities in the coming two years will be magnified by the difficult political, economic, and social situation that it has inherited. The elections demonstrated that the Front has become the standard bearer of the country's basic aspirations. The great majority of the people rallied around the Front because its policies express their interests. What remains to be done now is to implement the articles of the platform-program in our practical, specific daily activities.

This is also the reason that through all its activities, the Front must rise to the responsibilities and credit that the Romanian people have granted it. One of the first and most important actions is to strengthen the organizational structures of the Front, which are still rather fragile and definitely inadequate for the force that emerged from the election.

The country stands before complex actions, primarily in the legislative area. As the main political party, the NSF will have important tasks and responsibilities in this respect, and whether they are resolved in keeping with the interests of all the citizens will depend on how the Front organizes its activities, in Parliament, too. At the same time, it is essentially important that the Front cooperate as extensively as possible with the other political forces in Parliament, regardless of their present power which, we must not forget, is a purely conjunctural matter.

The coming years will not be easy at all; on the contrary, they will bring to the fore our multiple and complex economic and social problems. Competence and responsibility will be the most urgently required criteria, as well as dialogue with all the political forces represented in Parliament—the only conditions capable of ensuring optimal conditions for dealing with problems such as economic decentralization, the transition to a market economy, and social difficulties.

Our experience so far and the achievements and failures recorded have shown that it is not possible to promote a genuine democracy without appropriate democratic structures, without promoting individual initiative, and without relating to the basic problems of the Romanian society. As we all know, the new authorities have inherited a very difficult situation. However, the toughest of its elements is probably the people's morale. Corruption, parasitism, the favoritism system, influence peddling, racketeering, etc. continue to make themselves felt. Alongside this type of corruption, a new form has appeared, the corruption of money and of pursuing wealth at any cost. There is a great difference between earning well by working and by using one's intelligence, and the actions of social parasites who sell themselves to the highest bidder. Not to mention profiteering and those who exploit shortages to get rich.

Now more than before the elections, all sorts of people will want to join the Front, invited or uninvited, and it is very important to let in only the honest ones, those without a blemish, who can justify the nation's confidence. This is the only way in which the Front can—and must—become the political party of the incorruptible and implement the goals of the December Revolution.

Political Groups, Parties Continue To Be Set Up

AU0706094190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0902 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 7/6/1990—New political groupings and parties continued to emerge in Romania

even after the May 20 legislative elections. Till June 6, the Bucharest City Court registered 91 parties and political groupings. Among the newly founded after April 23 are the Romanian Revolution Party; provisionally headquartered in Bucharest; the Republican Tribune based in Sibiu; the Heroes' Party based in the commune of Berzasca, Caras-Severin County; the Tinsmith Romanies' Progressive Party in Bucharest; the European Integration Movement, provisionally headquartered in Bucharest; the Alternative Movement for a New National Development Pattern in Bucharest; Free Initiative Small Owners Party in Bistrita-Nasaud; the Europe Party of Romania based in Oradea; and the Free Youth Organization of Tulcea with headquarters in Tulcea.

* Election Said To Express Will of Majority

90BA0135G Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 22 May 90 pp 1, 3

[Editorial: "The Verdict of the Majority"]

[Text] On 20 May 1990, a moment inextricably woven into the country's history, not only the postrevolutionary history, but also its modern evolution and the process of rebirth of civic society after the removal of the totalitarian Communist organization, was consummated: the first free and truly democratic elections in the last half century. Romania's citizens turned out in overwhelming numbers, in a climate of order and peace and with a sense of political responsibility; their massive and even solemn presence gave this election an unprecedented significance. Under the Ceausescu regime, elections were nothing but a masquerade, whose grotesque and shameless effrontery was aimed only at defying and discrediting the Romanian people in their own eyes and in the eyes of the entire civilized world.

The Romanians' turnout in the elections undeniably demonstrated their unquenched thirst for democracy and their desire to freely express their viewpoint on the country's future, on the future they want to build themselves, without anybody's intermediary. Significantly, the percentage of people who didn't go to the polls was far lower than in West European countries or other Western countries in which elections are a current, matter of course event.

The final results of the elections will be published soon, but polls taken during the elections by FRG and Romanian pollsters promise a landslide victory for the candidates of the National Salvation Front [NSF]. The presidential election promises 83 percent of the votes in favor of Mr. Ion Iliescu, while his rivals, the representatives of the so-called historical parties, Messrs. Radu Cimpeanu of the National Liberal Party and Ion Ratiu of the National—Christian and Democratic—Peasant Party won only 11 and six percent of the votes respectively.

The electoral verdict is clear. The people democratically opted for democracy. The foreign observers invited to Romania precisely to verify that the elections are free, that the citizens' rights are not violated, and that all the parties and political groups are freely participating in the elections, will undoubtedly emphasize the fact that the Romanian electorate was able to fully exercise its prerogatives, and that each voter cast his ballot for whichever candidates seemed to justify his hopes and trust.

Unfortunately, the tension and suspicions that marked the electoral campaign continued after the balloting, too; representatives of certain parties and political groups, who feared that the election results will be against them, did not even bother to wait for the precise official figures and the position of the foreign observers to cast doubts on their validity. Invoking the precedent of the 1946 elections, the leaders of the historical parties rushed to voice apprehensions about the votes obtained, which they judged far fewer than they had expected. Both Mr. Cimpeanu and Mr. Ratiu, unhappy about the insignificant percentage they won, which only express the real standing of their popularity and the confidence they enjoy, are already preparing the ground and arguments to contest the election results and to initiate a postelectoral confrontation.

In point of fact, considering the tone that their press and supporters adopted prior to 20 May, we hardly expected them to completely recognize the fact that the electorate, aware and informed, elected the best candidate and the political group best suited to represent its interests and hopes. Regardless of the unfounded and puerile accusations leveled by these supporters of a sui generis democracy only for themselves and their interests, rather than a broad democracy for the entire nation, and regardless of the stratagems they will use—not barring attempts to destabilize the country politically, as they have been doing so far—one thing is certain: The great majority of the country's citizens will not try to obstruct the process of democratization of the society under the pretext of respect for a democracy imagined by a noisy minority or by a handful of nostalgic [word illegible], but will follow the path cut out by the dynamics of contemporary world events.

In the spirit of the rationale that sanctioned the legitimacy of the Romanian December Revolution, the verdict of the majority, the verdict of collective reason, was one, clearly expressed, and unequivocal: once and for all, the people want democracy and the people are establishing it.

* Composition of Senate After Elections

90BA0145C Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 29 May 90 p 7

[Unattributed article: "Senate Composition After the 20 May Elections"]

[Text]

Alba: 1. NSF [National Salvation Front]—Ioan Rus; 2. NSF—Silviu Carpinisianu.

Arad: 1. NSF—Radu Homescu; 2. NSF—Ioan Babos; and 3. UDMR [Democratic Union of Romanian Magyars]—Zoltan Hosszu.

Arges:1. NSF—Vasile Nitu; 2. NSF—Petru Pop; and 3. NSF—Sava Costache.

Bacau:1. NSF—Mihaita Postolache; 2. NSF—Ionel Aichimoaie; and 3. NSF—Jenica Gioacas.

Bihor: 1. NSF—Viorel Faur; 2. UDMR—Ludovic Demeny; snd 3. NSF—Florian Serac.

Bistrita-Nasaud: 1. NSF—Mircea Cupsa; 2. NSF—Augustin Zegrean.

Botosani: 1. NSF—Constantin Dumitru; 2. NSF—Mihai Teodorescu.

Brasov: 1. NSF—Sergiu Nicolaescu; 2. NSF—Mihai Fercala; and 3. UDMR—Miklos Fazekas.

Braila: 1. NSF—Ionel St. Alexandru; 2. NSF—Mihai P. Matetovici.

Buzau: 1. NSF—Gelu Voican Voiculescu; 2. NSF—Vasile Ion 3. Alexandru Minzala.

Caras-Severin: 1. NSF—Miron Manescu; 2. Independent—Antonie Iorgovan.

Calarasi: 1. NSF—Doru-Ioan I. Taracila; 2. NSF—Ion Gh. Neagu.

Cluj: 1. NSF—Victor Vasile Aileni; 2. UDMR—Geza-Stefan Szocs 3. APUNRTP [not further expanded]—Adrian-Ovidiu Motiu.

Constanta: 1. NSF—Gheorghe Dumitrescu; 2. NSF—Nicolae Rabau 3. PNL [National Liberal Party]—Ivan Sabin.

Covasna: 1. UDMR—Karoly Kiraly; 2. UDMR—Gabor Kozsokar.

Dimbovita: 1. NSF—Emil Dima; 2. NSF—Mihail Iurcu 3. NSF—Adrian Simion.

Dolj: 1. NSF—Oliviu Gherman; 2. NSF—Dan Nicolae 3. NSF—Ion Predescu 4. PNL—Mircea Voica.

Galati: 1. NSF—Ilie Platica-Vidovici; 2. NSF—Leonard Fintescu 3. PNL—Dumitru Caluianu.

Giurgiu: 1. NSF—Ion Munteanu; 2. NSF—Iosif Dan.

Gorj: 1. NSF—Vasile Vacaru; 2. NSF—Aurica Popescu.

Harghita: 1. UDMR—Attila Verestoi; 2. UDMR—Gabor Menyhfri Hajdu.

Hunedoara: 1. NSF—Gheorghe Ivan; 2. NSF—Mihai Chetan; 3. PNL—Petru Jurcan.

Ialomita: 1. NSF—Constantin Sava; 2. NSF—Constantin Balcan.

Iasi: 1. NSF—Ion Iliescu; 2. NSF—Titus Raveica; 3. NSF—Ion Solcanu 4. PNL—Cezar Buda.

Maramures: 1. NSF—Ioan Gheorghe Popa; 2. NSF—Stelian Morcovescu; 3. UDMR—Ernestin Toma Csiha.

Mehedinti: 1. NSF—Stelian Dedu; 2. NSF—Emanoil-Mihail Cernescu..

Mures: 1. UDMR—Bela Marko; 2. APUNERTP—Radu Ciontea; 3. NSF—Ilie-Valer Galea..

Neamt: 1. NSF—Nichifor Sorin Adrian Vornicu; 2. NSF—Valeriu Momanu; 3. NSF—Radu Alexandru Timofte.

Olt: 1. NSF—Nicolae Gradinaru; 2. NSF—Ilie Citan; 3. NSF—Teiu Paunescu.

Prahova: 1. NSF—Corneliu Manescu; 2. NSF—Gheorghe Damian; 3. NSF—Gelu Juncu 4. PNL—Emil Tokacs.

Satu Mare: 1. NSF—Vasile Mois; 2. UDMR—Karoly Ferencz Szabo.

Salaj: 1. NSF—Virgil Magureanu; 2. UDMR—Iosif Toth.

Sibiu: 1. NSF—Nicolae Nan; 2. NSF—Ioan Tataru; 3. PNL—Mircea Curelea.

Suceava: 1. NSF—Mihai Iacobescu; 2. NSF—Gheorghe Muntean; 3. NSF—Dragos Luchian.

Teleorman: 1. NSF—Mihail Neagu; 2. NSF—Nicolae Burcea; 3. NSF—Titi Cioaca.

Timis: 1. NSF—Diodor Nicoara; 2. PNL—Mihai-Zaharia Ruva; 3. NSF—Stefan Glavan.

Tulcea: 1. NSF—Barbu Popescu; 2. NSF—Corvin Bangu.

Vaslui: 1. NSF—Pau Jerbas; 2. NSF—Virgil Popa.

Vilcea: 1. Octavian Fieroiu; 2. NSF—Petre-Petre Negru.

Vrancea: 1. NSF—Nicolae Giurgea; 2. NSF—Constantin Dinu.

Bucharest: 1. NSF—Lia Mnoliu; 2. NSF—Romulus Vulpescu; 3. NSF—Victor Anagnoste; 4. NSF—Alexandru Birladeanu; 5. NSF—Mircea V. Soare; 6. NSF—Semion Neculai Tatu; 7. NSF—Ion Coteanu; 8. NSF—Alexandru Piru; 9. PNL—Radu-Anton Campeanu; 10. PNL—Ionel Sandulescu; 11. NPP [National—Christian and Democratic—Peasant Party]—Caius Iacob; 12. NSF—Nicolae Cajal; 13. REP [Romanian Equality Party]—Adrian Manolache; 14. MER [Romanian Ecological Movement]—Marcian Bleahu.

* Call Issued for Coalition Government

90BA0135D Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 23 May 90 p 1

[Florin-Garbiel Marculescu article: "Consequences"]

[Text] The anticommunist Revolution of December 1989 was a victory for a minority that continues to be present in University Square and in other major cities of the country. But the results of that revolution are enjoyed by the entire population which, through their vote, seem to have opted—consciously or otherwise—for the gradual and moderate progress of our society along the path of a still unspecified democracy. It remains to be seen how wise this choice has been. However, the electoral victory of the NSF [National Salvation Front] far exceeds the percentage points it needed to remain in power in a balanced and credible parliamentary form. From this viewpoint, the crushing majority it won becomes uncomfortable both for the Front, and for the opposition. For the Front, because it finds itself in the situation of controling more than two thirds of the votes both in the Assembly of Deputies and in Senate, which will force it to assume the entire responsibility for the legislation. In its turn, the opposition will be more than weak and will lack any effectiveness, and will in fact have to be content with only a decorative role from the very beginning. This extreme disproportion will undoubtedly harm our incipient democracy, more so since even the discussion and adoption of the Constitution, the fundamental law of the country, will not occasion the indispensable dialogue between the power and the opposition.

According to the electoral law, the parliament will meet within 20 days of the day of election, i.e., on Saturday 9 June, to verify the files and the legality of the elections, and to validate the seat of each deputy and senator. Within the same period of time, the Supreme Court of Justice has to validate the election of the president of Romania. These are matters of procedure which will probably proceed smoothly, without incident.

By virtue of his functions and acting for all appearances independently of any party, the president will designate the Front representative as prime minister; the government will then be presented to the Parliament for approval. Will it be a one-party government, in accordance with the results of the election? We don't think so. The country is facing a profound social, economic, and paradoxically, even political crisis, the latter being perpetuated by the absurd results of the election. The pressure of inflation is being increasingly felt and its effects cannot continue to remain concealed for long. These are sufficient reasons for the Front to opt, as Mr. Iliescu repeatedly stated, for a coalition government incorporating representatives of the political parties best placed in the elections, as well as independent representatives. Such a government would also enjoy greater credibility abroad. The future government must include personalities who, aside from undisputable professional competence, have a spotless political past. These are indispensable conditions for winning the trust of the entire nation during this new period of transition, which promises to be extremely difficult and full of obstacles. Under these conditions, those who agree to join the government can expect rather the thorns of utter political discredit than the laurel leaves of public gratitude. We will learn their names in less than a month, and we hope that they will come up with a coherent and clear program in keeping with the present requirements. They certainly won't have an easy time of it. The success or failure of this government will depend on the popularity of its measures, which will have to be taken in a spirit of indubitable political honesty and absolute clarity of social dialogue, which can no longer be avoided, as has unfortunately been the case to date.

* Nomenklatura's Post-Revolution 'Anxieties'

90BA0145B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 29 May 90 pp 1, 4

[Vladimir Tismaneanu article: "The Anxieties of the Nomenklatura"]

[Text] The December Revolution in Romania brought to an end the bicephalous political power of the Ceausescu couple. However, has it also destroyed the system that allowed the ascent of a madman to the top of the pyramid? Where does the revolutionary earthquake in Romania stand in comparison with similar tremors in the other formerly Sovietized Eastern and Central European countries? Recent developments have dispelled the propagandistic mirage woven in the first days following the abolition of the dictatorship. It has been verified that the new figures who overnight sprung up to the helm of the country were not exactly the sworn enemies of communism. On the contrary, it soon became noticeable that their objectives were by far not the same as those of the spontaneous, "grassroots" movement to dismantle the institutional and ideological framework of the Communist regime. From this viewpoint, we did not need too much perspicacity to notice the NSF's [National Salvation Front] tendency to usurp and distort the radical antitotalitarian message of the revolution. The group that profited from the revolution detached itself from its authors with the speed of lightning. In the last analysis, despite its heart-warming promises, the new political group did nothing but prolong the agony of the political class of the bankrupt Communist regime in camouflaged and mystifying forms. And so, Romania, the country in which the revolution appeared as total in its purity and uncompromising nature, is now trailing after the other states in the area. While in Hungary and Poland the party bureaucracies and the repressive apparatus have been almost completely eliminated, and while the same appears imminent in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, in Romania the NSF has pulled an extraordinary feat of collective hypnosis; it has donned the apparel of anticommunism for the invaluable purpose of safeguarding the basic interests and privileges of the nomenklatura. The revolutionary profile of this group is nothing but an enormous, hallucinogenic travesty.

But what is the fear of the champions of the socialistic populism that has become the ideological spearhead of the NSF? In the name of what values are they conducting their relentless campaigns of intimidation and disinformation against a newly reborn and still traumatized public opinion? What is the source of their obstinate and malicious opposition to democratic mechanisms? The answer is not too difficult. The Front is the historical heir of the bureaucratic, police, and ideological apparatus of the currently invisible but not nonexistent Communist party. More precisely, the Front is the palpable embodiment of a cynical diversionist maneuver designed to preserve a political order suffering from an incurable degenerative systemic disease. While the Communist Party succumbed lamentably, without the least attempt to resist, some of its political class continues to nurse the illusion that an inner reformation of the system is possible. It is indeed stupefyingly curious to observe how obtuse and how devoid of any historical imagination can be the strategic and philosophical options of those who claim to be offering a rational alternative to a system of liberal, Western-type democracy.

For those of us who have dealt more closely with the avatars of communism in our century, the determination of the neo-Leninists in Bucharest is not in the least surprising. Their mental processes are frozen in one-track patterns and intolerant dichotomies that cannot generate anything but inquisitorial practices and assaults on the critical spirit. How can they forget the paradisiac times of absolute arbitrariness, of witch hunts, and of soiled human dignity? And not only they, but also their brethern of Stalinist nostalgia who managed the mortal leap at the last minute and propelled themselves into the new structures of power, are now secretly languishing in expectation of the miracle of resurrected communism. Let us look the realities squarely in the eye: What we have here is an ultrareactionary class, hostile to opening the country up to Europe and convinced, like all other Leninists, that it has a historic mission to fulfill. The nomenklatura is a neofeudal oligarchy frozen in its impenitent prejudices and superstitions. Its mentality is militaristic, rigid, xenophobic, and autarkic. To that we must add the fact that for the nomenklatura, opening up the social framework to informal, nongovernmental or even anti-governmental initiatives is a genuine nightmare. These people never had to give an account of themselves to society, and now they feel downright insulted by demands from the streets to answer for their past. Being a monopoly by definition, the nomenklatura is first and foremost a class of interests and status, a group that parasitically feeds on and ultimately infests the entire social organism. Since it lacks any legitimacy, the nomenklatura detests any questioning of its authority: They govern in the name of history and by its appointment, which is the Hegelian-Marxist substitute for theological divine right.

If this is the situation, if the nomenklatura is desperately clinging to power, spurting poisonous denunciations and slander at its adversaries and impertinently abusing the credulity of the masses accustomed to decades of disinformation, what can we do to disarm and neutralize it? First of all, we must shun fatalism and the destructive feeling that "the die has been cast" and that our fate has been sealed. In Romania, like in the other former communist countries, traditional blockage, fearful inhibitions, and a priori capitulations have lost their raison d'etre. The present course of events, the present zeitgeist cannot be controlled even by the most machiavelian thought policing. The body politic is being reborn in unadulterated forms through the genesis of an organic opposition: the parties are maturing and the civic society that is emerging is by definition opposed to dictrinaire regimentation. This is the golden path of the break with the suffocating universe of despotism, be it even an enlightened despotism.

I cannot end these thoughts without adding a few words on a more personal note. I learned that DIMINEATA of 3 May 1990 carried an article in which I was accused of all sorts of things, including the fact that I myself belonged to the above mentioned political class. It is true that my parents fought in Spain and that I was born into a communist family. So far, of course, there is not much of a difference between myself and certain NSF leaders. However, in contrast to them, I consciously decided to clearly separate between my biological family and my political family. In other words, while remaining sentimentally attached to my parents, I did not share their political illusions. The core of the problem is not our parents' past, but whether we ourselves can separate from that past and make the distinction between loyalty and love, without sitting in judgment, but also without any thinly disguised identification with a disastruous political experience. Like Adam Michnik, Jacek Kuron, Laszlo Rajk (the son of a man who was hung in Budapest in 1949), and many others, I believed and I continue to believe that our parents were wrong, and adorning them with virtues they did not possess seems to me a bizarre form of piety. But these are matters which I discussed in detail and frequently for almost seven years, beginning in 1983, on Radio Free Europe, the BBC, and the Voice of America. The fact that the scribes of the new nomenklatura do not hesitate to use the same jargon and insinuations like the authors of the base threatening letters I received throughout this time (do I need to specify from whom?) only serves to confirm my darkest apprehensions about the moral decrepitude of the group I tried to portray here.

* Futility of 'Dictatorship of the Streets' Seen

90BA0135E Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 23 May 90 pp 1, 3

[Cristian Antonescu article]

[Text] I look at the motley crowd that continues to keep under strange siege University Square even after the elections, and I begin not to understand anything of the written and unwritten laws of democracy...

The illusion that politics are made in the streets is a purely Greek invention. Not of modern Greece, but of the Greece of times immemorial, when philosophers delivered themselves of sophisms in the open air and the agora resounded with the comings and goings of armed men. It is impossible to imagine that history can take such an extreme step backward that those incipient forms of democracy and of decyphering its principles and its delicate mechanism should make such a comeback and assert themselves as a viable modern formula.

What is happening in University Square is not a political act, that would be saying too much, but a childish, ambitious, and nefarious siege laid by a camping-[word illegible] fury to a big city. Bucharest is the victim of an aggressive fantasy which, taking itself seriously, dubbed itself a revolutionary movement. The confusion is more saddening than comical if we consider some of its main heroes. We see emerging people like Dumitru Dinca, a man devoid of moral responsibility, considering the fact that he abandoned his family and children with premeditation and lack of concern. Some have lost their heads to the opportunity to see themselves at the center of public attention, while others secretly entertain the Byzantine hope of a flashing ascent on the ladder of the political and social hierarchy; all these pretenders to public investiture are prepared to bet everything on one card, even if it means bluffing.

In fact, what game is being played in University Square? You may not believe it, but the dictatorship of the street is striving to replace, to the rythm of guitar music, the fragile bodies of democraocy that are just now sprouting, inexperienced bodies already eroded by vested interests capable (why not?) even of backing down. Rhyming slogans chanted with sophomoric enthusiasm, grand displays of naughty posters, occasional speakers who reveal, along with their honesty, their capacity to understand the events, thus inadvertently calling attention to the real value of their ideas, the oscillating leanings of certain intellectuals between "for" and "against," the anonymous but continual waves of curious spectators and passers-by, and only at the very end political interests stripped of any ideal and subordinated to cold calculations of unquenched thirst for power, define the cheap, but above all, free spectacle in University Square.

While the streets can be revolutionary—and indeed they were magnificent in their sacrifice and overwhelming elan—they cannot become dictatorial in the name of the many and certainly not the responsible voice of the people in time of peace. The attempt to replace one condition by another is fatal and discrediting, especially because the attempt to exploit the confusion between what University Square was during the bloody days and nights of the Revolution and what it is now, is rather transparent. At that time the street was the people, their desperate and determined cry, their grand and heroic sacrifice; now it has obviously become the most insalubrious place (literally) in Bucharest, the meeting place of hunters of cheap popularity, idlers, and, why not frankly say it, even suspicious characters. In the name of a fake and distorted awakening of our sleeping spirits, these peddlars of illusions have managed only to discredit themselves and to disturb the peace we so badly need to get on with our business.

University Square yesterday and today. Grandeur and decline.

The foundations of democracy cannot be laid either in the road, nor on the sidewalk, nor in the tents raised on the lawn in front of the National Theater. On the contrary, democracy requires structures and institutions capable of promoting and guaranteeing freedom backed by responsibility, the force of law and reason, controlled power, and dialogue. Both the achievement and the manifestation of democracy defy excess and require balance and good measure, more so since the elections provided the first answers to these hopeful expectations.

It is astonishing to see how people with philosophical inclinations, like the members of the Group for Social Dialogue, failed to understand this elementary truth and opted to unreservedly support this simplistic form of public expression. In reality, they exempted us from an unbearable suspense by turning, from a group, into a trio of ad-hoc politicians. They chose the monologue as their means of communication, eliminating the dialogue from their scope of interests, and in exchange are initiating us, with boring and nagging eloquence, into their sophisticated vision of the way of the world.

Unfortunately, people credited with moral probity, like Ana Blandiana, have committed the mistake of confusing the high temperature at which is melted the pure gold of moral virtues with the flickering and pale flame of cigarette lighters. By opting for University Square, Ana Blandiana has, intentionally or otherwise, turned her back on the others, on the silent and hopeful majority that loved her for a long time, as she deserved to be loved. This majority reserves the right to judge her.

The dictatorship of the street has run out of breath. Not only because of the exasperating and monotonous repetition of a single thought, but because of its dual desertion from the dialogue it was offered. Abusing everyone's patience, the "small revolution" of the street is getting ready to become anonymous.

* Future Victory Predicted for 'Hooligans'

90BA0135F Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 22 May 90 p 3

[Tibor Inczefi article: "Today Veto, Tomorrow Victory!"

[Text] I want to begin with a slogan, the first part of which is very familiar to us: "Our Esteem and Pride—the Hooligans of Romania" [pun on a Ceausescu slogan]. I don't mean to be contradictory, but I want to tell you that V is not the symbol for Victory. No, because we have not yet won this Revolution, begun by several hundreds of riffraff and continued by the brothers of the

hooligans of Timisoara who here, in the heart of the capital city, have been promoted to the rank of Riffraff. No, the moment of victory has not arrived yet; the best proof of that is precisely your presence here to "veto" communism, totalitarianism, and lies. Others are better trained and better able to express themselves than I. Nevertheless, I want to tell you that I thought of you before you were here. The people of Bucharest were still living their normal lives when in Tirgu Mures, in the afternoon of 20 March, two crowds were facing each other. People—neighbors, colleagues, fans of the same football team—joined two opposed camps. We knew that it was a misunderstanding, a historic mistake and while the ambulances were rushing hundreds of people to the hospital, I was thinking of you, the people of Bucharest. I thought of you while waiting with bated breath for representatives of the government who failed to show up. I thought of you when tanks took position in two columns to separate the crowds and between them, two police officers—only two, like two men sentenced to death—were trying to dam the fury. But when I realized that it was my duty to try to do something to stop the bloodshed, to catch Cain's arm raised against his brother, when I realized what I should do, then I did NOT think of you.

Because on 20 March Bucharest was filled with children and old people, girls and men, thieves and rogues, sick people, hungry people, and sated people... but on 20 March here, in the center of town, there were no hooligans. And I tried to appeal to the people of Timisoara. I tried to get in touch with the martyr city to send in the Army, to send in someone to enlighten our minds, because the center of the town was already in flames. They were the only ones I trusted, the people of Timisoara, who one week previously had launched a Proclamation that could have been the Code of the Revolution; and Article 8 of that Proclamation can be—and must be—the cornerstone of the new old system that we want to restore.

You may still have to spend a long time under scornful looks; it may still be a long time before your voice reaches the ones who have ears but refuse to hear.... But ultimately we will lay flowers on the edifice of the rebuilt country. When the powers that be will want to listen to the faintest moan of the least significant citizen of this country, and when the least significant citizen will have equal rights with the president.

We may not live to see the wonderful day when those flowers are laid. It is sad to live with this feeling. But we are happy at the idea that we are participating in the most difficult labor of erecting a building: laying the foundation. I believe that the presence of each one of you in University Square is another stone in the foundation of the road leading to Europe. Your presence here are as many bricks in the foundation of Europe's common home that will house freedom, equality, and fraternity. The building whose East European wing was erected by the sacrifices of the December Revolution, which have already entered the realm of legend and ballads, like the wife of Romanian master builder Manole and the wife of Hungarian master builder Komuves Kelemen. We, too, are potentially doomed to be immured. But not before asking on the day of our trial here, on earth, what we did not only in the past five years, but in the past five months.

This question should be asked of the journalists who write articles, the editors who bring out magazines, the authors of television programs, and the teachers who educate the new generation. Everyone should be asked that. It seems that the indictment will be drafted by you, the Hooligans who, in University Square, have turned that insult into a word of praise.

In the hope that the Veto symbol will become the symbol of Victory, I want to assure you of the solidarity of a Szekler Hooligan.

Loncar Meets With Shevardnadze in Copenhagen

LD0606163890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1553 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Copenhagen, 6 Jun (TANJUG)—The current international events, especially in Europe, were the focus of attention during a long discussion between Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Eduard Shevardnadze, Soviet foreign minister, who are heading delegations at the Copenhagen CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension.

Shevardnadze briefed the Yugoslav foreign minister on the course and results of the recent U.S.-USSR summit in Washington, stressing that the Bush-Gorbachev talks also focused on the message sent to them by SFRY Presidency President Dr. Borisav Jovic.

Bush and Gorbachev agreed that it was necessary to pay due attention to international economic problems, especially efforts at strengthening North-South dialogue, to which Jovic's message to the president of the superpowers referred.

In the context of the European security system, Loncar and Shevardnadze dwelt in particular on the issue of German unification. The Soviet foreign minister expressed his optimism on overcoming the present differencies between the key participants in the process.

Their discussions also stressed the inevitability of including the Mediterranean in the new European security system, as well as the need for urgently resolving the Middle East crisis.

Assembly Protests U.S. Congressmen's 'Conduct'

LD0506204190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1638 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Jun (TANJUG)—U.S. Congressman Tom Lantos and former Congressman Joseph Dioguardi have grossly violated the right to visit and transit through Yugoslavia and their political activities during a private visit to Yugoslavia's Kosovo Province have objectively stirred up riots in the province, a board of the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly said Tuesday[5 June].

The board said that Lantos and Dioguardi did not act in keeping with the established international norms and good relations between Yugoslavia and the United States.

Such conduct, it was underscored, undermines the necessary trust and harms the Yugoslav-U.S. relations and the reputation of the U.S. Congress in the Yugoslav public.

The board expressed readiness to continue cooperation with the U.S. Congress, but warned it cannot allow its members to abuse the trust which exists between the U.S. Congress and the Yugoslav Assembly.

Serbia Contests U.S. Embassy Statement

LD0606115590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1040 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1520 GMT on 6 June transmits a service message killing this item at the request of the Socialist Republic of Serbia Information Secretariat]

[Text] Belgrade, 6 June (TANJUG)—In response to an official statement by the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade that no diplomatic or consular representative from the embassy had accompanied Congressman Lantos and former Copngressman Dioguardi, the Secretariat for Information of the Executive Council of Serbian Socialist Republic Assembly has been empowered to announce that this statement does not correspond to the truth because at that time Bruce Konik [name as received], first secretary of the U.S. Embassy Political Section in Belgrade, was in Pristina. The U.S. Embassy representative personally paid Congressman Lantos' and Dioguardi's expenses in Pristina's Grand Hotel

Parliament Delays Debate on Multiparty System

LD0606203490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1806 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, June 6 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav parliament today put off the scheduled debate on a federal law on political association, which was to legalize a multi-party system in the country.

Four months ago, the Yugoslav Government proposed to parliament that the law be passed in a summary procedure, planning that multi-party elections for the federal parliament should be held by the end of the current year. Yesterday's debate in the competent committee of the federal parliament reopened many dilemmas on the introduction of a multi-party system in the country, so that the federal chamber, one of the two chambers of the Yugoslav parliament, was forced to put off the debate on the law on political association.

The Yugoslav republics of Croatia and Slovenia have already passed laws on multi-party political association and have recently held multi-party elections for the publican parliaments.

'Nobody any longer has any doubts regarding the new parties, either as a reality or as a necessity', says Zarija Martinovic, chairman of the socio-political committee.

Delegates to the Yugoslav parliament were today asked to make all preparations in the next few months for the constitution of a new multi-party assembly of Yugoslavia.

Assembly Examines Government Economic Measures

LD0606203390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1845 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, June 6 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav parliament today expressed support for the government's economic measures, which have been implemened since the beginning of the year, but at the same time said that a new investment cycle should be initiated in order to halt the drastic decline of industrial production in the country.

Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Zivko Pregl said during a debate on the results of the economic reform programme that the government of Prime Minister Ante Markovic would late in June propose new economic measures for the second half of the year.

Pregl said, however, that no major changes would be made in the internal economic policy (?of the) liberalization of prices and the exchange rate of the national currency, the dinar, will not be changed after June 30 (the date of expiry of the government's "package" of economic measures, adopted in December last year).

Pregl confirmed that the decline in industrial production, said by one delegate to have amounted nine per cent in the first four months of the year, was larger than planned. This is why the government will propose additional measures to achieve a restructuring of the economy, especially an alteration of ownership relations.

The assembly assessed as the positive results of the government's economic measures the curbing of inflation, stabilization of prices, growth of the country's foreign currency reserves (now standing at over eight billion dollars) and the convertibility of the dinar.

However, it was pointed out that the government's monetary policy measures had increased insolvency in the economy and caused the drop in production. The delegates also asked for changes in the interest rate policy, as the current policy, in their view, produced inflationary pressures and reduced the investment capacity and export capability of the Yugoslav economy.

One of the conclusions made at today's session of the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly is a call for a 20-per-cent cut in the taxation of the economy earmarked for budgetary and other public spending.

The delegates said that the coming changes of the Yugoslav Constitution, which envisage a transformation of public ownership into other forms of ownership, changes in the tax system and the policies and position of the Yugoslav National Bank, were a sound basis for the implementation of Yugoslavia's economic reform.

Inflation Rate, Economic Situation Updated

LD0506213990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1818 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Skopje/Belgrade, 5 Jun (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia is still at the very beginning of a successful transformation of its economy—although inflation itself has been curbed, its generators have not, member of the Yugoslav Government Veselin Vukotic said during a meeting with economic and government representatives of the Yugoslav republic of Macedonia in the republican capital Skopje today.

Vukotic said that the government of Prime Minister Ante Markovic had inflation in its grip—but still lacked the courage to unclench its fist. The opening would make possible a restructuring of the economy, and especially changes of ownership relations, he said.

Vukotic said that the Federal Government would through the newly-formed agency for the development of small and medium-sized enterprises provide 2.5 million dollars to stimulate the creation of promising programmes.

It was pointed out at a meeting of the Federal Council for Economic Development and Economic Policy in Belgrade today that the government should already have revealed the measures it intends to implement after the end of June, when the term will expire of many of the measures in its current economic package.

The monthly rate of inflation in Yugoslavia has been slashed from the 64.3 per cent recorded in December 1989 to minus 0.2 per cent in April this year, director at the Federal Institute for Social Planning Andrija Jovicic said at the meeting. He said that the May inflation had increased by 0.4 per cent compared with April and added that the costs of living in May had been 1.9 per cent above those recorded in April.

The country's foreign currency reserves stood on May 27 at eight billion 584 million dollars, exports rose by 21 per cent from the beginning of January until the end of April, and imports grew by 32.2 per cent, Jovicic said.

However, industrial production has in the first four months of the year fallen by 8.7 per cent in comparison with the same period of 1989, Jovicic said, adding that a new investment cycle would be initiated in the second half of the year and that development would be based on an alteration of the economic structure and the promotion of small and medium-sized enterprises.

Some 10,200 firms have been set up in Yugoslavia from the beginning of the year until mid-May, Jovicic said, adding that 1,200 joint investment deals, all told worth about one billion Deutsche marks (DM) had been signed with foreigners over the same period.

New Bill on Freedom of Information Proposed

LD0506202790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1341 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Jun (TANJUG)—All institutions and individuals will be able to found information media in Yugoslavia in future and foreigners will be able to invest funds in Yugoslav media but not to found them.

This has been proposed in a new bill on information which the Yugoslav Government today proposed to federal parliament.

The bill specifies that foreigners will be able to invest up to 25 percent of the total capital of the firms.

The bill secures freedom of information, and the media are protected from any form of political "tutorship." All institutions and state organs are obliged to provide information they possess at equal conditions to all media, except for [word indistinct] which are considered confidential.

Committee Prepares for LCY 'Renewal Congress'

LD0506224790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2121 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Jun (TANJUG)—Party organizations of Croatia, Macedonia and Slovenia, attending at present the sessions of the preparatory committee for the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) renewal congress as observers, will probably declare themselves by June 15 whether they will take part in the congress as full members, deputy chairman of the committee Predrag Jereminov said at a meeting in Belgrade on Tuesday [5 June].

Everything is being done to secure complete composition, Jereminov said. The work of the committee is open for those who wish to contribute to the preparations for the congress of the LCY programme and democratic renewal.

Jereminov recalled that the basic principles of the activity of the renewed LCY are the equality and independence of its (?integrated parts), the democratization of the party's internal relations (providing for the implementation of the principle of democratic unity), the establishing of single programme and statutary bases, along with the right of the parts to adopt their own programmes and statutes, and full agreement in adopting LCY programmes and statutes and on national equality.

Croatian President on Confederation, Elections

LD0606104190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0017 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 5 Jun (TANJUG)—President of the State Presidency of Croatia Franjo Tudjman said on Tuesday [5 June] evening that conclusions should be drawn from history and efforts made to organize relations in Yugoslavia on confederative foundations, as an alliance of sovereign states.

Anything else would lead to a further waste of time and energy, more friction and perhaps even unwanted consequences, Tudjman said in a half-hour interview on Slovenian television.

Tudjman said he was convinced multi-party elections would take place in all the Yugoslav republics (?by) the end of the year.

The first post-war multi-party elections in Yugoslavia were held recently in Slovenia, followed by Croatia.

Regarding the abolishing of contributions to the fund for the underdeveloped, Tudjman said that the question was even more topical for Croatia thatn for Slovenia since most indicators point to an even more impoverished economy. He said that the Croatian Government would probably take the same steps as Slovenia, which intends to abolish such contributions.

Urging sovereignty and independence, Tudjman also pointed out the need for an independent Croatian foreign policy, economic independence and a different position of the army.

Albanians' Residence Rights Withdrawn in Kosovo

LD0506182990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1138 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 5 June (TANJUG)—In the period from 9 to 19 April, Kosovo internal affairs organs withdrew SFRY residence rights from 17 people with Albanian citizenship "who lost their status of dependents of their refugee parents after reaching the legal age [of 18]." This is stated in a supplementary report by the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs on the implementation of conclusions by the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber and the Federal Government concerning the law on the movement of aliens and residence rights in the SFRY.

The persons who have had their residence rights revoked were fined and convicted on several occasions for various offences and criminal acts, including involvement in hostile demonstrations and criminal acts against the foundations of the country's socioeconomic system and its security. [passage indistinct]

Urosevac Protest on Single-Nation Police Units

LD0606191790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1336 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Urosevac, 6 Jun (TANJUG)—Dissatisfied Serbs and Montenegrins have been gathering for three days each afternoon in Urosevac to protest the decision of the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs regarding the formation of single-nation police units. They demand, above all, that measures of responsibility be undertaken

against the provincial secretary for internal affairs, Jusuf Karakusi, and his under-secretary, Medzid Beciri.

They decided to continue with protest gatherings. They also sent an official invitation to the republican secretary for internal affairs, Radmila Bogdanovic, who is held as being among those most responsible for the formation of single-nation police units consisting of members of the Albanian nationality, to visit them on 7 June.

At the gatherings they expressed protest at police treating differently followers of Vuk Draskovic's Serbian National Renaissance [Srpska Narodna Obnova—SPO] and the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [Demokratski Savez Kosova], led by Ibrahim Rugova. Attempts at gathering made by Vuk Draskovic followers was effectively prevented, while Rugova continues with his work undisturbed, and even invites U.S. Congressmen to visit Kosovo.